PLUTARCH's LIVES,

Abridged from the

ORIGINAL GREEK,

Illuſtrated with

NOTES and REFLECTIONS,

And embelliſhed with

COPPER-PLATE PRINTS.

VOLUME the SECOND.

Containing the LIVES of

PERICLES,
FABIUS MAXIMUS,
ALCIBIADES,
C.M. CORIOLANUS,
TIMOLEON, and
PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

LONDON:
Printed for J. NEWBERY, at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

MDCCLXII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

CONTENTS.

THE LIFE of PERICLES Page 1
His perſon and education 3
Anaxagoras obtains a great reputation by explaining the prodigy of a ram with one horn 5
Pericles aſſumes a public character 6
He obtains the ſurname of *Olympus* 7
He courts the favour of the people 8
He erects magnificent temples, and other public buildings 10
He cauſes *Thucydides* to be baniſhed, and becomes the ſupreme maſter of *Athens* 12
His unblameable conduct 13
His behaviour to *Anaxagoras* 15
He in vain endeavours to prevent *Tolmidas* making an incurſion into *Bœotia* 16
His military expeditions *ib.*
The character of *Aſpaſia* 19
He reduces the *Samians* 20
He ſends *Lacedæmonius*, the ſon of *Cymon*, with ten ſhips to the relief of *Corcyra* 23

He inflames the minds of the people againſt the *Megarenſians* 24
He in vain endeavours to defend *Phidias* the ſtatuary 25
The proſecution of *Aſpaſia* 26
Anaxagoras the philoſopher is obliged to fly from *Athens* *ib.*
The *Lacedæmonians* and their allies invade *Attica* 28
Pericles avoids hazarding a battle 29
He ſends a large fleet to ravage the enemy's country 30
The manner in which he removed the terror occaſioned by an eclipſe *ib.*
He is deprived of the command, and fined 31
His domeſtic afflictions *ib.*
He is invited to reſume his former power 32
An obſervation he made when at the point of death 33
His general character 34

The LIFE of FABIUS MAXIMUS 36
The falſe judgment made of his great qualities *ib.*
He inures himſelf to bodily labour 37
The prudent advice he gave the *Romans* 38
Flaminius engaging *Hannibal* is ſlain, and his army entirely defeated *ib.*
Fabius is choſen dictator 39
He makes a vow to offer to the gods all the cattle

cattle produced the next ſeaſon throughout *Italy* 40
He endeavours to exhauſt the ſpirits and vigour of the enemy, by avoiding an engagement *ib.*
He is charged by the *Romans* with want of courage 41
His friends preſſing him to engage *Hannibal*, the wiſe anſwer he made them 42
He attacks the rear of *Hannibal*'s army with ſucceſs: the *Carthaginian* forces are in the greateſt danger of being cut off, but are ſaved by a ſtratagem *ib.*
Being blamed for the treaty he made with *Hannibal* on the exchange of priſoners, he ſells his land to redeem them 44
Minucius, during his abſence, defeats a part of *Hannibal*'s army 45
The *Romans* make *Minucius* joint dictator 46
Minucius, with his half of the army, are in the greateſt danger of being cut to pieces by *Hannibal*, but are ſaved by *Fabius* 48
The gratitude of *Minucius* and his army 50
Varro is defeated by *Hannibal* at the battle of *Cannæ* 53
Fabius Maximus and *Marcellus* marching againſt *Hannibal*, the latter obtains the name of the Sword, and the other of the Buckler of *Rome* 57
Fabius's generous behaviour to a *Murſian*, who perſuaded ſome *Romans* to deſert 58

And to a *Lucanian*, who uſed to lie out of the camp *ib.*
He takes the city of *Tarentum* by ſtratagem 59
Fabius fullies his glory by his inhumanity to the *Tarentines* 60
His ſon being made conſul, cauſes him to alight, and come to him on foot 61
Fabius envies and oppoſes the riſing glory of *Scipio* 63
The lives of *Pericles* and *Fabius* compared 65

The LIFE of ALCIBIADES 69
His ſpeech againſt playing on the flute 70
Socrates endeavours to correct his manners 71
He even ſaves him in battle from falling into the hands of the enemy 72
In another engagement *Alcibiades* ſecures the retreat of that great philoſopher *ib.*
Alcibiades ſtrikes a ſchool-maſter for having none of *Homer*'s books 73
The anſwer he made to another who pretended that he had corrected *Homer* *ib.*
He becomes an excellent orator 74
He diſtinguiſhes himſelf at the *Olymyic* games *ib.*
The wicked artifice by which he impoſed on the *Lacedæmonian* ambaſſadors 77
His luxury and extravagance 79
He inſpires the people with the reſolution to attempt the conqueſt of *Sicily* 81

Nicias

Nicias is made general with him in that expedition 82
Alcibiades is charged with defacing the ſtatues of *Mercury*, and profaning ſome ſacred myſteries *ib.*
He ſails to *Sicily*, and, having made himſelf maſter of *Catana*, is recalled to take his trial 84
He prevents *Meſſina* falling into the hands of the *Athenians*; makes his eſcape, and is at length protected by the *Lacedæmonians* 86
He aſſumes the manners of different countries; but, while he practiſes the ſeverity of the *Spartan* cuſtoms, he debauches the wife of king *Agis* 87
He makes war on the *Athenians*; but *Agis* cauſes orders to be ſent for aſſaſſinating him 88
Alcibiades flies to *Tiſaphernes*; prevents his injuring the *Athenians*, and takes ſuch meaſures, that he is invited to return from baniſhment 89
Before his return to *Athens* he beats the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, and takes thirty of their ſhips 92
Paying a viſit to *Tiſaphernes* his ſeiz ed, but makes his eſcape, and obtains many other victories by ſea and land 93
He returns to *Athens*, where he is received with the higheſt marks of honour and affection 99
He celebrates the grand myſteries 101

He

He ſets ſail with a fleet of a hundred ſhips, and arriving at *Andros*, defeats both the inhabitants and *Spartans* 102
Antiochus, in his abſence, attacks the *Spartan* fleet commanded by *Lyſander*, and is ſlain, and many of his ſhips taken 103
The *Athenians* again exaſperated at *Alcibiades*, chuſe other generals, on which he provides for his own ſafety, by retiring 104
Alcibiades obſerving the negligence of the *Athenian* generals, generouſly comes to offer them his advice; but is treated with ſcorn, which occaſions the loſs of the *Athenian* fleet, and of *Athens* itſelf *ib.*
Alcibiades is murdered 107

The LIFE of C. MARCIUS CORIOLANUS 109
Marcius ſaves the life of a *Roman* ſoldier, and is honoured with a civic crown 110
His affection to his mother 112
The *Roman* people, exaſperated at the cruelty of their creditors, leave the city, but are prevailed on to return 113
Marcius takes the city of *Corioli*; and the ſame day diſtinguiſhes himſelf in a pitched battle againſt the *Volſcians* 114
The factious tribunes raiſe various commotions. *Coriolanus* treats the citizens with cruelty and contempt, is refuſed the conſulſhip, and at length baniſhed 119
He reſolves to be revenged of the *Romans*; going to *Antium*, he enters the houſe of *Tullus*,

Tullus, and offers to aſſiſt the *Volſcians* 128
He cauſes ambaſſadors to be ſent to *Rome*, to demand the places taken in the late war 131
He ravages the territories of *Rome*, and thoſe of the *Roman* allies 132
The *Roman* people demand his being recalled, but are oppoſed by the patricians, on which *Marcius* encamps within five miles of *Rome* 134
The *Romans*, filled with terror, in vain diſpatch his relations and friends with propoſals of peace, and then the prieſts and augurs 135
Valeria perſuades his mother and wife to go and intercede with him for his country. They engage in the expedition, and at laſt prevail on him to conſent to a peace 138
Coriolanus retires with the *Volſcians*, and returning to *Antium* is murdered 143
The actions of *Alcibiades* and *Coriolanus* compared 147

The LIFE of TIMOLEON 151
His amiable character *ib.*
His extraordinary affection to his brother, whoſe life he ſaves at the hazard of his own; but he, deſtroying the liberty of his country, he cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated 152
He grows melancholy, and ſpends twenty years in ſolitude 154

A ſhort

A ſhort hiſtory of the *Syracuſans* from the death of *Dion* 155
Timoleon is ſent with a ſmall force to the aſſiſtance of the *Syracuſans* 157
He lands at *Rhegium* in *Italy*, and by an artifice eſcapes a *Carthaginian* fleet that lay there to intercept him 159
He reaches *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*. Both he and *Icetes* are invited by different parties to march to the aſſiſtance of *Adranum*, where arriving with an inconſiderable force, he defeats the army under *Icetes* 162
The neighbouring cities now deſire his friendſhip, and *Dionyſius* ſurrendering the citadel of *Syracuſe* to him, is ſent to *Corinth* 163
The manner in which *Dionyſius* lived at *Corinth* 165
Timoleon eſcapes being murdered by one of the aſſaſſins being ſtabbed when ready to ſtrike the blow 168
Icetes and the *Carthaginians* ſeize the port of *Syracuſe*, and take up their quarters in the city 169
Timoleon finds means to ſupply the citadel with proviſions from *Catana*; but, while *Icetes* and *Mago* fail to attack that city, the garriſon in the citadel make themſelves maſters of the ſtrongeſt part of *Syracuſe* 170
While *Hanno* pretends to have vanquiſhed the *Corinthian* ſuccours, they land in *Sicily* 171

Mago

Mago returns to *Africa*, and *Timoleon* makes himſelf maſter of the whole city of *Syracuſe* 173
Timoleon repeoples that city 174
He endeavours to extirpate arbitrary government out of *Sicily*, and employs himſelf in making wholſome laws 176
Seventy thouſand *Carthaginians* land in *Sicily*; but are defeated by *Timoleon* 177
Icetes making an inroad into the territories of the *Syracuſans*, is defeated, and afterwards being taken priſoner, is put to death 182
The wife and daughters of *Icetes* are condemned by the *Syracuſans* 183
Hippo the tyrant put to death by the people of *Meſſina* 184
Mamercus the tyrant of *Catana*, is defeated by *Timoleon*, tried at *Syracuſe*, and, having in vain attempted to kill himſelf, is put to death 183
Timoleon having extirpated tyranny, ſettles in the territories of *Syracuſe*, where he is treated by the *Syracuſans* with the utmoſt affection and eſteem 185
His death and funeral honours 188

The LIFE of PAULUS ÆMILIUS 190
Being ſent into *Spain* in quality of prætor, he twice defeats the Barbarians 192
He divorces his wife *Papiria* *ib.*
He reduces the *Ligurians* 193
A general view of a part of the *Macedonian* hiſtory 195
Æmilius is unanimouſly choſen conſul, and ſent

ſent againſt *Perſeus* king of *Macedon* 197
Perſeus, by his avarice, deprives himſelf of the aſſiſtance he might have received from the *Baſtarnæ* and the *Illyrians* 198
Some advantages obtained over *Perſeus* oblige him to remove his camp 201
Æmilius comes to a battle with *Perſeus*, in which the latter is put to flight 205
Marcius Cato makes extraordinary efforts to recover his ſword, which had been ſtruck out of his hand 207
Scipio being miſſing, the whole army go with lights in ſearch of him 209
The behaviour of *Perſeus* during his flight *ib.*
He takes refuge in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. A *Cretan* ſails away with his treaſure, and leaves him and his family behind 211
He is ſeized and delivered up to *Æmilius* 212
Æmilius's ſpeech on the inſtability of *Fortune* 213
Æmilius viſits *Greece* 214
His cruel treatment of the inhabitants of *Epirus* 215
He returns to *Rome*, where the ſoldiers endeavour to deprive him of the honour of a triumph 216
His triumph deſcribed 219
His domeſtic afflictions 221
The death of *Perſeus* 222
Æmilius is created cenſor 223
His death and funeral 224
Timoleon and *Æmilius* compared 225

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

PERICLES.

CÆSAR, on ſeeing ſome wealthy foreigners at *Rome* careſſing monkeys and dogs, which they carried in their arms, aſked, If the women in their country ever bore children? Thus he, with juſt ſeverity, reproved thoſe who laviſh on brutes the endearments, which are ſolely due to mankind. We may equally condemn thoſe, who employ the curioſity implanted by nature in the human mind, on low and worthleſs objects, while they overlook ſuch as are uſeful and excellent. As the mind has the power of chuſing on what it will fix its attention, thoſe objects of its contemplation are to be choſen, which, while they delight us, di-

rect us to the practice of virtue, which is its true happineſs. Virtue is in itſelf ſo amiable, that the mere deſcription of the actions it inſpires, fills the ſoul with a warm emulation. In other things, our deſire of imitation does not always keep pace with our admiration; and we admire what we do not wiſh to imitate. Hence *Philip* ſaid to his ſon *Alexander*, on his once ſinging in a very agreeable and ſkilful manner, "Are you not aſhamed to ſing ſo well*." It is ſufficient that a king finds leiſure to hear others, and his being preſent at the performances of thoſe who excel in arts of this kind, does honour to the muſes.

He who applies to mean and uſeleſs arts is ſelf-condemned, becauſe he acquires an indiſpoſition for nobler employments, by his very induſtry in ſuch unprofitable purſuits. No youth of a liberal and ingenuous diſpoſition, on ſeeing the ſtatue of *Jupiter* at *Piſa*, or that of *Juno* at *Argos*, would deſire to be *Phidias* or *Polycletus*; or wiſh to be *Anacreon*, *Philemon* or *Archilochus*, from his being delighted with their poems†: for love and eſteem of the artiſt

* Whatever is an ornament to man, can never be a diſhonour to a king. Therefore if a fine ear, and an harmonious voice, are real accompliſhments, they, inſtead of being a diſadvantage, muſt add a grace to the higheſt characters.

† *Plutarch* is here unhappy in his compariſons: a love of the fine arts is far from being incompatible

artiſt does not neceſſarily ariſe, on our admiring the beauty and graces of his performances. But virtue has an attractive power; and even when it is exhibited in an hiſtorical deſcription, has a tendency to engage our affections, and form our manners. For this reaſon I proceed in writing the lives of eminent men, and have compoſed this book, containing the life of *Pericles*, and of *Fabius Maximus*, who reſembled each other in the mildneſs and integrity of their diſpoſitions; and who, by bearing patiently the folly and inſolence both of the common people, and their colleagues, became of eminent ſervice to their country.

Pericles was of one of the moſt conſiderable families in *Athens:* for his father, who defeated the generals of the king of *Perſia* at *Mycale*, married *Agariſte*, the niece of *Cliſthenes*, who having expelled the race of *Piſiſtratus*, and aboliſhed the tyranny, regulated the plan of government, and formed excellent laws, wiſe-

patible with the love of virtue; and a ſkill in them can never diſhonour the greateſt princes, who only uſe them as innocent relaxations: on the contrary, it will ever be their glory to patronize them. It was no diſgrace to the emperor *Titus*, that he wrote ſeveral poems in *Greek* and *Latin*. Had our author ſaid, that no youth of an ingenuous nature would wiſh to be a rope-dancer, a tumbler, or a mimic, however he might admire the feats of particular performers, his reaſoning would certainly have been more juſt.

ly adapted to the ſecurity of the ſtate, and to promote concord and unanimity among the people.

Pericles was well ſhaped; but his head was remarkably long and diſproportioned; whence moſt of his ſtatues have the head covered with an helmet. According to moſt authors, he was inſtructed in muſic by *Damon*, who was probably an able politician, that aſſumed the character of a muſician, in order to conceal his political talents from the people. He was no leſs aſſiduous in teaching him the ſcience of government, than a maſter of the gymnaſtic art is in training his ſcholars. *Pericles* was alſo a diſciple of *Zeno Eleates*, a moſt ſubtle diſputant: but the perſon from whom he chiefly acquired that dignity which appeared in his whole deportment, and the ſtrength and ſublimity of ſentiment that gain'd him an aſcendant over the minds of the people, was *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, who aſcribed the order of the univerſe not to chance or neceſſity, but to the power of a pure unmixed intelligence. *Pericles* had the higheſt eſteem for this philoſopher, from whoſe inſtructions he acquired the knowlege of the ſublimeſt ſciences, and obtained an elevation of mind, and a loftineſs of ſtyle, free from affectation. From him likewiſe he learned an eaſy compoſed deportment; a gravity that was ſeldom relaxed by laughter; a firm and even tone of voice, and to obſerve the greateſt modeſty and decency in his dreſs. Being once publicly inſulted for a whole day together by a pro-

and to
ng the

ad was
vhence
ed with
ors, he
no was
ned the
conceal
He was
cience
ymna-
Pericles
a moſt
whom
ch ap-
nd the
gain'd
ne peo-
n, who
not to
a pure
e high-
whoſe
of the
evation
ee from
earned
ity that
rm and
greateſt
ng once
ther by
a pro-

ANAXAGORAS explains the Phænomenon of a Ram with one Horn.

a profligate fellow, he, without replying, continued to diſpatch the important buſineſs in which he was engaged, and in the evening, with great compoſure, went home, the other ſtill following, and loading him with the moſt abuſive language. On his reaching his own houſe, it was dark, and he ordered one of his ſervants to take a light, and wait on the man home. *Zeno*, on hearing the gravity of *Pericles*, repreſented as mere pride and oſtentation, adviſed his cenſurers to aſſume the ſame kind of pride; for he thought, that a man, by counterfeiting what is excellent, is inſenſibly led to love and practiſe it. *Pericles* alſo learnt from *Anaxagoras* to baniſh thoſe ſuperſtitious fears, with which the minds of the vulgar are diſtreſſed, who, from their being unacquainted with the cauſes, are terrified at extraordinary appearances in the heavens; and, from their ignorance of religion, are perpetually tormented with the moſt extravagant and diſmal apprehenſions: for true philoſophy baniſhes the frenzy and terrors of ſuperſtition, and in their room produces a rational and chearful piety.

The head of a ram, with only one horn, being brought to *Pericles* from his country-ſeat, *Lampo* the diviner, perceiving that the horn grew ſtrong and firm from the middle of the forehead, foretold, that of the two parties then in the city, that of *Thucydides*, and that of *Pericles*, the whole power would ſoon center in him on whoſe land the prodigy had happened: but *Anaxagoras* opening the head,

ſhewed that the brain, inſtead of filling up the whole cavity, had contracted itſelf into an oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the ſkull whence the horn took its riſe. This ſolution procured *Anaxagoras* great honour.

While *Pericles* was young he ſtood in fear of the people, becauſe his countenance was thought to have ſome reſemblance to that of *Piſiſtratus*; and the old men were no leſs alarmed at finding that he had the ſweetneſs of voice, and volubility of ſpeech of that tyrant. Beſides, being of a noble and wealthy family, and having the friendſhip of the moſt conſiderable perſons of *Athens*, he was afraid of being baniſhed by the oſtraciſm; he therefore abſtained from all political buſineſs; though he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in war by his intrepidity and courage. But at length *Ariſtides* being dead, *Themiſtocles* in exile, and *Cimon* generally employed in military expeditions far from *Greece*, *Pericles* aſſumed a public character. Though he had no inclination to court popularity, yet being apprehenſive that he might fall under the ſuſpicion of aiming at the ſupreme power, and obſerving that *Cimon* was attached to the party of the nobles, he ſtudied to obtain the favour of the common people, as the beſt means of promoting his own ſafety, and of ſtrengthening his intereſt againſt that of *Cimon*. From this time he was never ſeen in any ſtreet but that which led from the ſenate-houſe to the Forum, and declined all ſocial entertainments and recreations among

among his friends: for dignity is not eaſily preſerved in familiarity of converſation, nor a ſolemnity of character amidſt mirth and ſurrounding gaiety. Indeed the more real virtue is ſeen, the more it is admired; and a truly good man never appears ſo great in the eyes of ſtrangers, as he does in private life to thoſe with whom he daily converſes. *Pericles*, however, did not chuſe to cloy the people by being too laviſh of his preſence; he appeared only by intervals, and neither conſtantly attended the public aſſembles, nor ſpoke on every ſubject that occurred. But reſerving himſelf for extraordinary occaſions, tranſacted common buſineſs by means of his friends, and ſome orators with whom he was intimate.

From the ſtudy of philoſophy, as well as nature, he acquired that elevation of ſentiment, and that all-commanding power (as the divine *Plato* calls it) by which he was diſtinguiſhed; and by applying his philoſophy to the purpoſes of eloquence, he became ſuperior to all the orators of his time. On this account, he is ſaid to have acquired the ſurname of *Olympius*; ſome, however, are of opinion, that it was on account of the public buildings and ornaments with which he cauſed the city to be embelliſhed; and others ſay, that he was thus called from his great authority in the affairs both of peace and war. Indeed it is not improbable, that all theſe circumſtances might concur in procuring him this ſplendid title; however, from the comedies of that age, it appears, that this appellation

lation was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence; for they repreſent his ſpeeches as filled with thunder and lightening; and deſcribe him as carrying a dreadful thunderbolt in his tongue. Yet he had ſuch ſolicitude about his public orations, that before he addreſſed the people, he conſtantly prayed to the gods, that nothing unſuitable to the ſubject on which he was to ſpeak, might inadvertently eſcape him. He left nothing behind him, except his public decrees: but *Steſimbrotus* has preſerved the following paſſage, which *Pericles* pronounced, in an oration in honour of thoſe who were ſlain in the battle of *Samos*. "Theſe, cried he, like all others "who die for their country, are exalted to "a participation of the divine nature; they "are, like the gods, ſeen only in the honours "that are paid them, and in the bleſſings "they beſtow."

It has been already obſerved, that in order to oppoſe the authority of *Cimon*, he endeavoured to obtain the favour of the people: but at length finding that his popularity was inferior to that of his rival, whoſe wealth enabled him to relieve the poor, to entertain the citizens daily at his houſe, to clothe the aged, and to allow to all the liberty of gathering his fruit *; he had recourſe to the public treaſury, and by diſtributing money among the people, encreaſing the fees paid for their attendance in the courts of judicature, and

* See the life of *Cimon*.

by

by other donations, he ſoon eſtabliſhed his power, which he employed againſt the ſenate of the *Areopagus*, of which he was not a member; and by the aſſiſtance of *Ephialtes*, he took from that court the cognizance of moſt of the cauſes that before came under its juriſdiction. He likewiſe cauſed *Cimon* his rival to be baniſhed, as a favourer of the *Lacedæmonians*, though he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and ſucceſs in obtaining many victories.

During the time of *Cimon*'s baniſhment, a conſiderable army of *Spartans* entered the territories of *Tanagra*, when the *Athenians* marching to oppoſe them, *Cimon* joined the army; and in order to clear himſelf from the aſperſion of his being a friend to the *Lacedæmonians*, took his rank among thoſe of his own tribe; but the friends of *Pericles* obliged him to retire. This was perhaps the cauſe that induced *Pericles* to exert himſelf on this occaſion with uncommon bravery, and remarkable intrepidity; as did alſo the friends of *Cimon*, all of whom fell in the battle. The *Athenians* now repented of their behaviour to *Cimon*, and began to regret his abſence; which *Pericles* perceiving, voluntarily propoſed a decree for recalling him, and upon his return, a peace was immediately concluded between the two ſtates: for the *Spartans* loved *Cimon* as much as they hated *Pericles* and the reſt of the orators. However, ſome authors ſay, that before this decree was propoſed, *Pericles* enter'd into a private agreement with him, that *Cimon* ſhould

ſhould ravage the territories of the king of *Perſia*, with the forces then abroad, and a fleet of two hundred ſhips, while *Pericles* ſhould govern at home.

The nobles now obſerving that *Pericles* was the chief man in the ſtate, were deſirous of giving a check to his power, in order to prevent the government from becoming entirely monarchical. For this purpoſe they made uſe of *Thucydides*, the brother-in-law of *Cimon*: a perſon of great prudence and moderation, who by oppoſing *Pericles* in the public aſſemblies, encreaſed the power of the nobility, and gave them a weight ſufficient to counterbalance the power of the oppoſite faction. This induced *Pericles* to employ every means of gratifying the people, by entertaining them with ſplendid public ſpectacles, proceſſions and feſtivals; and by indulging them in theſe amuſements, he managed them at his pleaſure. Beſides, he every year ſent out ſixty gallies, manned by a conſiderable number of citizens, who were employed eight months in this ſervice, during which they received pay, and at the ſame time improved themſelves in the art of navigation. He alſo ſent out ſeveral colonies, in order to rid the city of a multitude of idle and ſeditious perſons.

Pericles likewiſe erected magnificent temples and other public buildings, that became the chief ornament of *Athens*, and the wonder of ſtrangers. But for this he was cenſured by his enemies with the utmoſt vehemence and acrimony: for they continually exclaimed in

the public aſſemblies, that all the ſtates of *Greece* muſt think themſelves ſhamefully wronged and inſulted, at ſeeing the money they had contributed towards the neceſſary expences of the war, employed by the *Athenians* in adorning their city with ſtatues and temples. On the other hand, *Pericles* repreſented to the people, that while they defended their allies, they were not accountable to them for the ſums they had received; ſince the allies had furniſhed neither horſes, ſhips, nor men, but only money, which ceaſed to be their property, and became that of the receiver, provided the conditions were performed on which it was paid; that the city being well ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for the ſupport of the war, the ſuperfluity of their treaſure ſhould be ſpent in works that, when compleated, would be laſting monuments of their glory; and while they were performing them, would diffuſe riches and plenty among the people; for, from the variety of inſtruments and materials requiſite in theſe undertakings, every art would be exerted, and every hand employed: thus every citizen would be in the pay of the ſtate, and the city would be not only beautified, but maintained by itſelf.

Notwithſtanding the aſtoniſhing magnitude of theſe ſtructures, and the inimitable beauty of the workmanſhip, yet the ſpeed with which they were executed was ſtill more wonderful: for though they ſeemed to require the labour of ſucceſſive ages, they were finiſhed during a part of the adminiſtration of *Pericles*. But labour

labour is a kind of loan to time, which is repaid by the duration of what it produces. Thus theſe ſtructures raiſed by *Pericles* are the more worthy of admiration, that being ſo ſoon compleated, they have ſtill ſuch laſting beauty.

The ſuperintendency of theſe public ſtructures was committed to *Phidias*, though many other great architects were employed in erecting them. The orators of *Thucidydes*'s party ſtill perpetually exclaiming againſt *Pericles* for being ſo profuſe of the public revenues; he one day aſked the people in a full aſſembly, *If they thought his expences had been too great? Much too great*, they replied. *Then*, returned he, *the expence ſhall be all my own, and my name ſhall be inſcribed on all theſe buildings.* But the people admiring the greatneſs of his ſpirit, or perhaps being unwilling to allow him the honour of ſuch magnificenr works, cried, that *he might ſpend as much as he pleaſed, without ſparing the public treaſure.*

At length *Pericles* and *Thucydides* coming to an open rupture, it became neceſſary that one of them ſhould be baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm*; when *Pericles* gaining the victory, the baniſhment of *Thucydides* put a period to the two factions, and *Pericles* became the ſole maſter of *Athens*, whoſe wealth and power were all at his diſpoſal. His manners were now entirely changed: he was no longer obſequious to the people, and ready to gratify all their capricious deſires: nor did he adminiſter the government by courting popular favour, and indulging the paſſions of the multitude.

titude.
changed
blameab
the pub
thority
influenc
he ſome
obliged
moſt co
had the
that ne
accuſtor
fear he
them w
ous, an
deſpond
in mana
to the ſ
inſtrum
and de
Howev
not to b
alſo to
tempt c
ſal eſte
had enc
the cit
than th
leaſt ad
Thu
like a
ſpring
years h
had *E*
Vol

titude. The conſtitution of the ſtate ſeemed changed into a monarchy; for by an unblameable conduct, and a ſteady purſuit of the public good, he acquired an abſolute authority over the people, whom he generally influenced by the force of perſuaſion, though he ſometimes, contrary to their inclinations, obliged them to purſue ſuch meaſures as were moſt conducive to their intereſt. He alone had the art of controuling the various paſſions, that neceſſarily ſprung up among a people accuſtomed to dominion: for by hope and fear he governed the multitude; checked them when they were too eager and impetuous, and animated them when timorous and deſponding. Such is the force of rhetoric, in managing the paſſions and affections: it is to the ſoul what the ſtrings are to a muſical inſtrument, which, when touched with ſkill and delicacy, obey the will of the artiſt. However, the influence *Pericles* acquired, was not to be aſcribed ſolely to his eloquence; but alſo to his unblemiſhed integrity and contempt of riches, which procured him univerſal eſteem and veneration. For though he had encreaſed the grandeur and opulence of the city, and though his power was greater than that of many kings, he made not the leaſt addition to his paternal inheritance.

Thus the great authority of *Pericles* was not like a bloſſom, that flouriſhed only in the ſpring of his adminiſtration; for during forty years he held the pre-eminence, though he had *Ephialtes*, *Leocrates*, *Myronides*, *Cimon*, *Tol-*

Tolmidas, and *Thucydides*, for his competito
After the baniſhment of the latter, he enjo
ed an unlimited power for fifteen years; a
though the authority of the ſeveral annu
magiſtrates centered in him, he continu
untainted by avarice, yet without being ca
leſs of his own fortune. Being equally ſo
citous that his paternal eſtate ſhould not
diminiſhed by negligence, and that the m
nagement of it ſhould not ingroſs too much
his time, he annually ſold at once the pr
duce of his lands, and daily bought in t
market the neceſſaries for his family. H
his ſons when grown up, and the women w
lived with him, diſpleaſed at his parſimon
ous œconomy, complained of his frugal a
ſcanty allowance, which permitted none
that ſuperfluity and waſte commonly found
the houſes of the great. His conduct in t
particular had not the leaſt reſemblance to th
of *Anaxagoras*, who, through a contempt
wealth, left his lands uncultivated. The
is indeed a wide difference between the l
of a ſpeculative, and that of an active phil
ſopher; for while the former is employed
contemplations independent of every thi
material and external, the latter applies h
virtue to the ſervice of ſociety, and the bu
neſs of human life: to him, therefore, rich
are not only neceſſary, but may be rank
among ſuch things as are juſtly eſteemed go
and honourable. Thus *Pericles* was enabl
by his wealth to relieve many of the po
citizens; and yet, in the multitude of publ
buſine

buſineſs, he is ſaid to have neglected even *Anaxagoras*, who finding himſelf forgotten in his old age, covered his head*, and lay down with the reſolution to ſtarve himſelf to death. But *Pericles* on hearing it, inſtantly ran to him, and with great emotion earneſtly beſought him to change his reſolution, not ſo much for his own ſake, as that he himſelf might not be deprived of ſo faithful and able a counſellor. On which *Anaxagoras* uncovering his face, replied, *Ah*, Pericles! *thoſe who have need of a lamp, take care to ſupply it with oil.*

The *Lacedæmonians* beginning to diſcover a jealouſy of the growing power of the *Athenians*, *Pericles*, to give the people a ſtill higher opinion of their own power and dignity, propoſed a decree for holding a council at *Athens* of deputies from every *Grecian* city, whether in *Europe* or in *Aſia*, to debate on the temples deſtroyed by the Barbarians; the ſacrifices which they had vowed to the gods, when they fought for the ſafety of *Greece*, and the meaſures to be taken with regard to their naval affairs, the ſecurity of navigation, and the peace of all *Greece* in general. With this propoſal twenty men of above fifty years of age were ſent to the different *Grecian* ſtates, inviting them to join in the conſultation, and unite their endeavours to promote the general peace and welfare. Their ſolicitations

* It was cuſtomary, both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, for perſons who devoted themſelves to death, to cover their heads.

were however ineffectual, and no council wa held, which 'tis ſaid was owing to the oppo ſition of the *Spartans*.

As the chief excellence of a military com mander is prudence and caution, *Pericles* ne ver willingly came to an engagement, whe the danger was great, and the ſucceſs uncer tain; nor did he envy the glory of thoſe ge nerals who are applauded, becauſe their ra enterprizes are attended with ſucceſs. H often told the citizens, that *as far as depend on him, they ſhould be all immortal.* When *Tol midas*, elated with the reputation he had ac quired in war, was unſeaſonably preparing t make incurſions into *Bœotia*, and, beſides hi other forces, had aſſembled a thouſand of th braveſt youth, who, by his perſuaſion, enliſt ed as volunteers, *Pericles* ſtrove to divert him from the attempt, and in a public aſſembly of the people he uſed theſe words; "If you "do not regard the advice of *Pericles*, at leaſt "wait till time, the beſt of counſellors, ſhall "adviſe you." This ſaying was not then highly applauded; but ſoon after news being brought that the *Athenians* were defeated, and *Tolmidas* ſlain, the people conſidered it as a proof both of his ſagacity and his affection to his countrymen.

Of all *Pericles*'s military expeditions, that to the *Cherſoneſus* met with moſt applauſe, from its greatly contributing to the ſafety of the *Greeks* who reſided there. For by ſtrengthening the cities with a colony of a thouſand *Athenians*, and by raiſing fortifications a-croſs the

the iſthmus from ſea to ſea, he not only ſecured them from the incurſions of the *Thracians*, but delivered them from a grievous war, in which they had been continually engaged with the neighbouring barbarous nations. He alſo acquired great reputation by a voyage he made round the *Peloponneſus* with a fleet of an hundred ſhips; in which he not only ravaged the towns on the coaſt, but advanced far into the country, obliging the inhabitants to ſhelter themſelves in their walls; and at *Nemea* routed the *Sicyonians*, and erected a trophy of his victory. Then ſailing to the oppoſite continent, he made a deſcent in *Acarnania*, and ſhut up the *Oeneadæ* within their walls.

Afterwards ſailing to *Pontus* with a numerous fleet; he treated the *Grecian* cities with great kindneſs, and granted all their demands. Beſides, by maintaining the dominion of the ſea, he taught the Barbarian princes to reſpect the power and courage of the *Athenians*. With the inhabitants of *Sinope* he left thirteen ſhips, under the command of *Lamachus*, to enable them to oppoſe the tyrant *Timeſilaus*; and after his being expelled, *Pericles* cauſed a decree to be paſſed, that ſix hundred *Athenian* volunteers ſhould be ſent to *Sinope*, among whom ſhould be diſtributed the houſes and lands that formerly belonged to the tyrants.

Pericles was, however, far from countenancing all the wild and extravagant projects of the people. He refuſed to indulge them, when elated by their power and ſucceſs, they

deſired to attempt the recovery of *Egypt*, and to invade the maritime provinces of the king of *Perſia*. Many of them were now filled with the deſire of conquering *Sicily*, and ſome even extended their views to the conqueſt of *Carthage*. But *Pericles* checked this reſtleſs ſpirit of ambition, and obliged them to employ the greateſt part of their ſtrength in ſecuring what they had already acquired, and the event ſoon proved his great prudence in confining the force of the *Athenians* within the limits of *Greece*. For, firſt, the *Eubœans* revolting, he landed in their iſland in order to reduce them. Immediately after, news was brought, that the *Megarenſians* were in arms, and that the *Spartans*, under the conduct of *Pliſtonax* their king, were advanced to the borders of *Attica*. *Pericles* therefore inſtantly returned home, and the enemy offered him battle; but he refuſed to engage ſo numerous and reſolute an army: and finding that *Pliſtonax* was chiefly guided by the advice of *Cleandrides*, whom the *Ephori* had appointed as aſſiſtant to that king, on account of his youth, he bribed him to retire with the army from *Attica*. The *Lacedæmonians* were however ſo highly incenſed at this retreat, that they impoſed a heavy fine on the king, which he being unable to pay, was forced to leave the country; and *Cleandrides* flying, ſentence of death was paſſed upon him.

Upon the retreat of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Pericles* returned to *Eubœa*, with fifty ſhips and five thouſand ſoldiers. With this force he re-

reduced all the cities; expelled the *Hippobotæ*, who were the principal perſons for wealth and authority among the *Chalcidenſes*, and drove the inhabitants of *Heſtiæa* out of the country, ſupplying their place with *Athenians*. This was done in revenge for their having taken an *Athenian* ſhip, and murdered the whole crew.

Soon after a truce being concluded between the *Athenians* and *Spartans*, *Pericles* cauſed a decree to be paſſed for an expedition to *Samos*, in order to puniſh the inhabitants for refuſing to obey the orders they had received from the *Athenians*, who had directed them to conſent to a peace with the *Mileſians*. It has been thought, that *Pericles* entered into this war merely to gratify *Aſpaſia*, whom he viſited, according to ſome, on account of her extraordinary wiſdom and ſkill in political affairs. This *Aſpaſia* was by birth a *Mileſian*. By her artifices and allurements ſhe captivated the greateſt men of the ſtate. Even *Socrates* frequently went with ſome of his friends to ſee her; and thoſe who were her intimate acquaintance, uſed to take their wives to hear her converſation; though her occupation was far from being a reputable one, ſhe keeping a number of looſe women in her houſe. *Æſchines* informs us, that *Lyſicles*, a grazier, of a low grovelling diſpoſition, by converſing with her, became, after the death of *Pericles*, the moſt conſiderable man in *Athens*: and from the *Menexenus* of *Plato* it appears, that many of the *Athenians* reſorted to her, to improve

prove themſelves in the art of ſpeaking, in which ſhe had the moſt conſummate ſkill. However, *Pericles*'s attachment to her probably aroſe from an amorous motive: for he and his wife parting by conſent, he married *Aſpaſia*.

To return to the *Samians*, againſt whom *Pericles* took arms in defence of the *Mileſians*. Theſe two ſtates had been at war for the city of *Priene*, and the *Samians* having the advantage, were ordered by the *Athenians* to lay down their arms, and plead their cauſe before them. On their refuſal to comply with this demand, *Pericles* ſailed with a fleet to *Samos*, and having aboliſhed the oligarchical form of government, took fifty of the principal men, with the ſame number of children, as hoſtages, and ſent them to *Lemnos*. Each of the hoſtages, 'tis ſaid, offered him a talent for his ranſom, and many other preſents were alſo offered him, to mitigate his ſeverity towards them: but he refuſed to accept them, or to treat the *Samians* otherwiſe than he at firſt intended, and having eſtabliſhed a democracy there, returned to *Athens*.

However, on his departure, they immediately revolted, having firſt recovered their hoſtages. They now made preparations for carrying on the war with vigour; and when *Pericles* returned with a fleet to reduce them, he found them firmly reſolved to contend for the dominion of the ſea: but after a ſharp engagement, *Pericles* obtained a complete victory, which was the more glorious, as with forty-

forty-four ſhips he defeated ſeventy; and then purſuing his advantage, made himſelf maſter of the harbour, and laid ſiege to the city, which the *Samians* defended with great bravery, and even made ſome vigorous ſallies. At length another *Athenian* fleet arrived, on which *Pericles* left the harbour, and ſailed with ſixty ſhips, as 'tis generally ſaid, to intercept a *Phœnician* fleet coming to the relief of the *Samians*; but he was no ſooner gone than *Meliſſus*, a philoſopher of great reputation, who commanded the *Samian* forces, deſpiſing the ſmall fleet left behind, and the unſkilfulneſs of its commanders, attacked the *Athenians*, and obtaining a complete victory, deſtroyed a conſiderable number of ſhips, and took many priſoners; the *Samians* became maſters of the ſea, and furniſhed themſelves with every thing neceſſary for the ſupport of the war. According to *Ariſtotle*, *Pericles* had before been defeated by *Meliſſus* in an engagement at ſea. The *Athenian* priſoners were branded in the forehead with the figure of an owl, in return for their having before branded the *Samians* with the figure of a *Samæna*, a kind of light ſwift-ſailing veſſel, invented at *Samos* by the tyrant *Polycrates*.

Pericles no ſooner heard of this misfortune, than he haſted to the relief of his army, defeated *Meliſſus* in a pitched battle, and put the *Samians* to flight; then chuſing rather to gain the city at ſome expence of time and money, than by the wounds and danger of his coun-

trymen

trymen, he ſurrounded the city with a wall. The *Samians* ſurrendered after a ſiege of nine months, when ſeizing their ſhips, he fined them in a large ſum of money, part of which they paid immediately, and a time being fixed for the payment of the remainder, they gave hoſtages as a ſecurity. *Duris*, the *Samian*, accuſes *Pericles* on this occaſion with the moſt monſtrous inhumanity, and ſays, that he cauſed the commanders and mariners of the *Samian* ſhips to be brought into the market-place of *Miletus*, where, faſtening them to boards, he left them ten days in that condition; and when they were almoſt expiring, ordered their brains to be beat out with clubs; after which their bodies were thrown into the fields, where they were ſuffered to remain unburied. But *Duris*, who is often guilty of falſhood, where he could be prompted by no paſſion or intereſt, ſeems here to have exaggerated the miſeries of his country, merely to bring a reproach on the *Athenians*.

Pericles, on his return to *Athens*, celebrated with extraordinary magnificence the funerals of thoſe who died in the war, and pronounced in honour of them, an oration that aſtoniſhed and charmed the audience. On his coming down from the roſtrum, all the women ran to compliment and crown him with garlands, as was done to thoſe who had gained a victory in the public games. *Ion* obſerves that *Pericles* was much elated with his ſucceſs and boaſted, that though *Agamemnon* had ſpent ten years in reducing a city to the obedience of his country, he had ſubdued nine in nine months. He was himſelf *Thucydides*, the hiſtorian of the *Peloponneſian* war, who, in the firſt book of his hiſtory, ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion with *Ion*. *Cimon*, the ſon of *Miltiades*, was deſigned by nature for a commander, and was ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of the nobility; but he was not eloquent, and had little talent for addreſſing the people. *Pericles*, on the contrary, was maſter of the moſt perfect eloquence, and, as it is ſaid of *Pelopidas*, that he could not be prevailed upon to quit the command of his army, though preſſed by the moſt preſſing neceſſity, ſo *Pericles* could not be induced by the moſt violent perſuaſions of his friends, to lead the people to battle, though he was ſometimes forced to it by the neceſſity of affairs. *Cimon* was a ſtranger to the arts of flattery, and was ſo much a ſtranger to the people, that he was born a citizen of the tribe of *Lacidæ*, which was not the tribe of his mother, and conſequently he was not entitled to the privileges of a native of *Athens*. *Pericles*, on the contrary, was ſo much a favourite of the people, that he was born a citizen of the tribe of *Lacidæ*, which was not the tribe of his mother, and conſequently he was not entitled to the privileges of a native of *Athens*

ten years in taking a barbarian city, he had ſubdued the moſt powerful *Ionian* ſtate in nine months. Indeed he had reaſon to pride himſelf on this conqueſt, if it be true, as *Thucydides* aſſerts, that the power of the *Samians* was ſo great, that the *Athenians* were in imminent danger of loſing the dominion of the ſea.

Afterwards the inhabitants of *Corcyra* being attacked by the *Corinthians*, *Pericles* perſuaded the people to ſecure in their intereſt that iſland, as its naval power would be of ſervice to them in the conteſt that would probably ſoon happen between them and the *Peloponneſians*. They agreed to this propoſal: on which he ſent *Lacedæmonius*, the ſon of *Cimon*, with only ten ſhips, as if his ſole deſign had been to diſgrace him: for as the family of *Cimon* had a friendſhip for the *Spartans*, if *Lacedæmonius* performed nothing conſiderable, he might be ſuſpected of treacherouſly favouring the *Spartans*; and indeed *Pericles* conſtantly endeavoured to depreſs thoſe of *Cimon*'s family. But being much cenſured for ſending this ſlender ſuccour, he ſome time after ſent a larger fleet to reinforce them; but it did not arrive till after the battle.

The *Corinthians* complained of the above conduct to the *Lacedæmonians*, and were joined by the *Megarenſians*, who charged the *Athenians* with a violation of the law of nations, and the oaths taken by the different ſtates of *Greece*, in excluding them from every port in their dominions. The people of *Ægina* likewiſe

wiſe thinking themſelves oppreſſed, privat
ly applied to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the ſieg
of *Potidæa* happening at the ſame time, con
tributed to haſten the war. Though this cit
was originally a *Corinthian* colony, it was ſub
ject to the *Athenians*, and had now revolted
However, as ambaſſadors were ſent to *Athen*
and *Archidamus*, king of the *Lacedæmonian*
endeavoured to accommodate theſe differences
the war might have been probably prevented
would the *Athenians* have come to an accom
modation with the *Megarenſians:* but *Pericl*
inflaming the minds of the people againſt th
Megarenſians, was conſidered as the ſole au
thor of the war. His animoſity againſt them
was probably owing to ſome private and per
ſonal cauſe; though the crime he charge
them with was, their having appropriated t
their own uſe a piece of conſecrated land
He cauſed a herald to ſet out for *Megara*
where he was to make a mild and equitable
remonſtrance, and from thence he was to go
to *Sparta*, to accuſe them of this ſacrilege
But the herald dying by the way, and th
Megarenſians being ſuſpected of procuring hi
death, a decree was propoſed by *Charinus*
that an eternal hatred ſhould ſubſiſt betwee
both nations; that it ſhould be death for an
Megarenſian to enter the territory of the *Athe*
nians; and that the *Athenian* generals, o
taking the cuſtomary oath, ſhould alſo ſwea
to make an incurſion twice a year into *Mega*
ris. The *Megarenſians*, however, abſolutel
denie

denied their being concerned in the murder, and laid the whole blame of the war on *Pericles* and *Aſpaſia*. But moſt authors have given a very different account of the cauſe of this war.

Phidias the ſtatuary had undertaken the ſtatue of *Minerva:* but his enjoying the friendſhip of *Pericles* expoſed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who being deſirous of trying the diſpoſition of the people, ſhould *Pericles* himſelf be cited before them, prevailed on *Menon*, one of *Phidias*'s workmen, to come as a ſuppliant to the Forum, and beſeech the people to allow him the liberty of bringing an information againſt *Phidias*. His requeſt was granted, and *Phidias* tried for ſtealing part of the gold with which he had adorned the ſtatue: but by the advice of *Pericles*, *Phidias* had faſtened it on in ſuch a manner, that it might be eaſily taken off and weighed; and this *Pericles* ordered the accuſers to do, by which means the proſecution was proved to be unjuſt. But notwithſtanding this, *Phidias* now ſunk under the envy occaſioned by his ſuperior merit. In the repreſentation of the battle of the *Amazons*, he had introduced himſelf in the perſon of a bald old man, holding up a figure in both hands. He had alſo engraved upon it an admirable figure of *Pericles* fighting an *Amazon*; the hand that held out the ſpear ſeemed deſigned to cover the face, and conceal the reſemblance, which yet ſtrongly appeared on

each ſide *. For this ſuppoſed crime, t
excellent artiſt ended his days in a priſon; l
while ſome ſay, that he died a natural dea
others alledge, that he was poiſoned by h
enemies, while the people granted *Menon* t
informer an immunity from all taxes, a
his ſecurity was committed to the care of t
generals.

Mean while *Aſpaſia* was proſecuted for i
piety, and for entertaining ſeveral women
reputable families, to gratify the libidino
deſires of *Pericles*; a decree was alſo p
poſed by *Diopithes*, that all who denied t
exiſtence of the gods, or taught profane o
nions, ſhould be tried before an aſſembly
the people. Though this decree ſeemed i
mediately to affect *Anaxagoras*, it was in
rectly levelled at *Pericles*; and as the peo
ſeemed to liſten willingly to theſe accuſatio
Dracontides propoſed another, that *Peri*
ſhould be obliged to give an account of
the public money with which he had be
entruſted. *Aſpaſia* was acquitted; but *P*
ricles dreading the conſequences of *Anaxa*
ras's trial, ſent him out of the city; and
he himſelf was on *Phidias*'s account becc
obnoxious to the people, and was apprehe
ſive of the conſequence of being called befo
a court of judicature, he urged on the w

* It was pretended, that theſe figures of *P*
ricles and *Phidias*, repreſented in the battle
the *Amazons*, deſtroyed the credit of anci
hiſtory, which did ſuch honour to *Athens*, a
to *Theſeus* its founder.

and blew up the flame, which till then was ſtifling and ſuppreſſed, as the only means of removing all accuſations; for notwithſtanding this treatment, ſuch was his reputation, that in times of difficulty and danger, they placed their confidence in him alone.

The *Lacedæmonians* thinking, that if they could ruin *Pericles*, they ſhould find no difficulty in ſtumbling the *Athenians*, ſent to let them know, that they ought to remove all execrable perſons from the city; *Pericles* being, according to *Thucydides*, deſcended on the mother's ſide from ſome who had been pronounced execrable in the affair of *Cylon**. But

* *Cylon*, an *Athenian* of a very noble family, having married the daughter of *Theagenes*, tyrant of *Megara*, ſeized on the citadel of *Athens*, while the people were celebrating the *Olympic* games, in obedience to an oracle of *Apollo*, by which he was directed to undertake it during the greateſt feſtival inſtituted in honour of *Jupiter*. But being cloſely beſieged, was ſo reduced through hunger and thirſt, that he was forced to retire with his brother, and leave his ſoldiers to ſhift for themſelves. Some periſhed miſerably, and the reſt fled for refuge to the temple of *Minerva*. *Megacles*, who was their archon, perſuaded theſe conſpirators to come down and ſtand trial. On which they tied a thread to the image of the goddeſs, and kept hold of the other end of it, in token of their being ſtill under her protection; but the thread happening to break juſt as they

But this, instead of distrust and reproach caused *Pericles* to be treated by the *Athenians* with greater esteem and confidence: for they now considered him as one, whom their enemies both hated and feared.

Soon after, the *Lacedæmonians* and their allies entered *Attica* with a great army under the command of king *Archidamus*, ravaging the whole country, in order to provoke *Pericles* to come to an engagement with them which he declined, being unwilling to hazard the safety of the city, on the success of a battle against 60,000 *Lacedæmonian* and *Bœotian* troops. Those, however, who were exasperated by the devastations committed by the *Lacedæmonians*, were inflamed with the spirit of revenge; but he endeavoured to cool and pacify them, by observing, that after trees are lopped they will soon grow again, but when men are cut off, it is not easy to repair the loss. That he might not be forced

reached the temple of the Furies, *Megacles* and his colleagues seized them, supposing that they were no longer favoured by the goddess. Those without the temple were stoned, and some who fled for sanctuary to the altars were murdered there, and none escaped but such as made their application to the wives of the magistrates. But from that time these magistrates were termed *execrable*, and were not only excommunicated, but driven into banishment. This affair happened in *Solon*'s time, 598 years before the birth of Christ.

to act contrary to his own opinion, he avoided calling an assembly of the people; but shut up the gates, appointed the guards, and took the most proper measures for the security of the city, without paying any attention to the clamours and complaints of the people. On one side he was attacked by the importunity of his friends, and on the other by the reproaches and threats of his enemies. He was perpetually insulted by satyrical songs, and other expressions of ridicule and contempt, while his caution was represented as cowardice, and a desertion of his country. But he remained unmoved, enduring these indignities with patience and silence. In the mean while he sent an hundred ships to the *Peloponnesus*, to ravage the enemy's country, while he staid to watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands, till the *Spartans* should retire. To appease the discontent of the people on account of the war, he distributed among them money and land; for having expelled the inhabitants of *Ægina*, he divided the land among the *Athenians* by lot; and they had soon the satisfaction of hearing, that the *Athenians Pericles* had sent to the *Peloponnesus* had ravaged a large tract of country, and plundered and destroyed many towns and villages. At length *Pericles* himself invaded the *Megarensians*, and laid waste their whole territory. Though the inhabitants of the *Peloponnesus* so much distressed the *Athenians* by land, yet as they themselves were equally distressed by sea, they

would ſoon have put an end to the war, h
not a peſtilence broke out at *Athens*, whic
carried off the moſt brave and active
the youth. The enemies of *Pericles* attr
buted this diſaſter to the multitude of peop
he had crowded together in the city, whe
they were obliged, during the heat of ſum
mer, to lead a lazy and inactive life.

Pericles deſiring to remove this calamit
and to diſtreſs the enemy at the ſame tim
fitted out a fleet of 150 ſhips, on board
which he embarked a great number of hor
and foot. So large an armament inſpired t
citizens with courage, and the enemy wi
terror. But juſt when they were all aboar
and *Pericles* himſelf was in his own galle
there happened an eclipſe of the ſun, whi
threw them all into the greateſt conſternatio
but *Pericles* perceiving that the pilot ſeem
filled with horror and perplexity, put h
cloak before the man's face, and wrappi
his head in it, aſked him, if there was a
thing dreadful in that, and whether it p
tended any calamity. He anſwered, "No
"And what difference (reſumed he) is th
"between this darkneſs and the other, e
"cept that the eclipſe is cauſed by ſom
"thing larger than a cloak?" But in t
expedition he performed no action of con
quence; for though he laid ſiege to the fam
city of *Epidaurus**; a contagious diſtemper

his army o
ſucceſs inc
and though
pacify them
ſentment,
power, an
command,
which, acc
mounted to
the higheſt,
The ang
as ſoon as
ons were m
off many
diviſion ha
Hippus, th
ing of a p
exaſperate
and the ſca
youth born
of *Pericles*
mand it, *P*
but broug
ſo enraged
to abuſe h
his conver
he held w
licly ſprea
carried on
this impl
till he wa

* A city in *Argeia* conſecrated to *Æſculap*
who had there a magnificent temple. It w

called *Sacr*
Laconia of

his army obliged him to raiſe it. This ill ſucceſs incenſed the *Athenians* againſt him; and though he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to pacify them, nothing could allay their reſentment, till they had aſſerted their own power, and not only deprived him of the command, but impoſed a fine upon him, which, according to the loweſt account, amounted to fifteen talents, and, according to the higheſt, to fifty.

The anger of the people was however ſpent as ſoon as gratified: but his domeſtic afflictions were more ſevere; the plague had carried off many of his relations and friends, and a diviſion had long ſubſiſted in his family, *Xanthippus*, the eldeſt of his legitimate ſons, being of a prodigal diſpoſition, was extremely exaſperated at his father's exact œconomy, and the ſcanty allowance he gave him. This youth borrowed a ſum of money in the name of *Pericles:* but when the man came to demand it, *Pericles* not only refuſed to pay him, but brought an action againſt him; which ſo enraged *Xanthippus*, that he began openly to abuſe his father, and turned into ridicule his converſations at home, and the diſcourſes he held with the ſophiſts: beſides, he publicly ſpread a report of an infamous commerce carried on between *Pericles* and his wife; and this implacable hatred to his father laſted till he was carried off by the plague. *Pe-*

called *ſacred*, to diſtinguiſh it from a city in *Laconia* of the ſame name.

ricles

ricles at the ſame time loſt his ſiſter, and moſt of his relations and friends who had been of ſervice to him in conducting the affairs of the commonwealth. But, in the midſt of theſe miſfortunes, he preſerved his uſual dignity and ſerenity of mind: he neither wept, nor was ſeen at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of *Paralus*, his only ſurviving legitimate ſon: by this misfortune he was however ſubdued, though he ſtill ſtrove to the utmoſt of his power to maintain his former character: but as he was putting a wreath upon the head of the dead body, he, for the firſt time in his life, burſt into a loud lamentation, and ſhed a flood of tears.

The people, after trying other generals and orators, and finding none of ſufficient abilities, invited *Pericles* to reſume his former power both in civil and military affairs. His ſpirits being depreſſed by the weight of his misfortunes, he had ſhut himſelf up at home to indulge his ſorrow: but at the perſuaſion of his friends he again appeared in public; the people acknowledged their ingratitude, and he accepted the government. He was no ſooner appointed general, than he propoſed the repeal of a law which he himſelf had made againſt baſtards; for, had it continued in force, his name and family muſt have been extinct. But though it was hard and unreaſonable, that a law which had been put in force with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſhould be repealed for the ſake of him who had firſt propoſed it; yet the *Athenians* being touched with com-

compaſſion for his domeſtic misfortunes, allowed him to regiſter his ſon in his own tribe, and under his own name. This was that *Pericles*, who having defeated the *Peloponneſians* in a battle at ſea near *Argenuſæ*, was afterwards put to death by the people, as were alſo his colleagues *.

Pericles himſelf was about this time ſeized with the plague; but it did not operate with its uſual violence, but was rather a lingering diſeaſe, which gradually waſted his body and enfeebled his mind. While he lay at the point of death, his friends, and ſome of the principal citizens ſitting round his bed, and thinking him quite inſenſible, talked of his virtue, authority, and great exploits; for while he was general he had erected nine trophies, for ſo many victories he had obtained. But tho' they imagined that he did not underſtand one word they ſaid, he had liſtened attentively to them, and ſuddenly breaking ſilence, ſaid, He wondered they ſhould extol thoſe actions in which fortune had a conſiderable ſhare, and which were ſuch as had been performed by many other commanders, and yet omitted

* On this occaſion the *Athenians* appointed ten commanders, who, after having obtained the victory, were tried for not burying the dead. This was the only crime laid to their charge; yet ſentence of death was pronounced againſt eight of them, and ſix of them being on the ſpot, were executed, among whom was this baſtard-ſon of *Pericles*.

the

the beſt and moſt honourable part of his character, which was, "That no *Athenian* "ever, through his means, put on mourning."

Such were the actions of this great man who deſerves our higheſt admiration, whether we conſider the lenity and moderation conſtantly obſerved amidſt the difficulties of buſineſs, and the violence of party-diſputes, or that real dignity of ſentiment which appeared in his eſteeming this the greateſt of his various excellencies, that tho' his power was ſo abſolute, he had never employed it to gratify his envy or reſentment, nor had ever treated an enemy as if he thought him irreconcileable. In my opinion, his kindneſs, his unſpotted dignity, and irreproachable conduct, are ſufficient to juſtify his being honoured with the name of *Olympius*; for his virtue prevented its being an object of envy, and rendered it graceful: for that is the ground of our veneration for the gods, who are worthy to rule and direct the univerſe from their being the authors of good and not of evil. The poets, who with their vain and abſurd imaginations, attempt to perplex and miſlead us, confute themſelves; for while they deſcribe the habitation of the gods as a place of perfect repoſe, undiſturbed by winds, perpetually illuminated with a pure light, and bleſſed with uninterrupted ſerenity, they repreſent the deities themſelves agitated by hatred, anger, vexation, and various paſſions unworthy of even a wiſe man.

The *Athenians* were ſoon ſenſible of the greatneſs of their loſs. Thoſe who had moſt repined at the ſplendor of the power by which they themſelves had been eclipſed, had no ſooner made a trial of other orators and governors, than they were convinced, that no man could, like him, temper his pride with humanity and moderation, or unite ſuch dignity with ſuch mildneſs and patience. The high authority which had expoſed him to envy, and had been repreſented as equal to that of a king, now appeared to have been the ſupport and preſervation of the ſtate.

THE LIFE OF FABIUS MAXIMUS.

THE family of the *Fabii*, one of the moſt numerous and powerful in *Rome*, is ſaid to have been deſcended from a ſon of *Hercules*. It produced many eminent perſons, and he, whoſe life I am now going to write, was the fourth in the deſcent from *Fabius Rullus*, or *Rutilianus*, who firſt brought into his family the honourable ſurname of *Maximus*.

The ſedateneſs and taciturnity of our *Fabius* during his childhood, his indifference with reſpect to childiſh ſports and amuſements, his ſlowneſs in learning, and his eaſy ſubmiſſive behaviour to his equals, made the

who did not thoroughly know him, imagine that he was ſtupid; and there were few able to diſcover the latent ſteadineſs and invincible courage, that appeared as ſoon as he entered on public employments: then what had paſſed for timidity, appeared to be cautious prudence; and what had been thought inactivity and inſenſibility, were inflexible conſtancy and calm reſolution. *Fabius* wiſely judging, that natural ſtrength was the beſt armour, prepared himſelf for war, by inuring his body to labour and exerciſe; and conſidering words as the engines, by which the minds of the people are to be moved, he applied himſelf alſo to the ſtudy of oratory, and acquired ſuch a kind of eloquence, that his manner of ſpeaking and acting perfectly reſembled each other: for in his ſpeeches were no affected and oſtentatious ornaments; but they were always grave, ſententious, and full of ſolid inſtruction.

He was five times conſul, and even in his firſt conſulſhip was honoured with a triumph, for a victory he obtained over the *Ligurians*, who after their defeat took ſhelter in the *Alps*, from whence they never after made any depredations on their neighbours. After this, *Hannibal* entering *Italy*, defeated the *Romans* near *Trebia*, and ravaging all *Tuſcany* with his victorious army, filled *Rome* itſelf with horror and aſtoniſhment, which was greatly encreaſed by there being obſerved many omens and prodigies. Theſe, however, had no effect on the conſul *Flaminius*, whoſe natural ardour

had been encreaſed, by his having lately obtained a victory over the *Gauls*. But tho' *Fabius* paid little regard to theſe prodigies, which he thought too abſurd to be believed, he adviſed the *Romans* to wait patiently, and not hazard an engagement with a general who had a well diſciplined army, inured to war by many battles; telling them, that if they would only take care to ſend ſuccours to their allies, and ſecure the cities in their poſſeſſion, the enemy's vigour would expire of itſelf, like a flame, for want of fuel. *Flaminius*, however, proteſting, that he would not, like *Camillus*, be reduced to fight for *Rome* within the walls of *Rome*, ordered the tribunes to draw out the army into the field. Though, on his mounting his horſe, the beaſt took fright, and caſt him to the ground*, he perſiſted in his reſolution; marched againſt *Hannibal*, and drew up his army near the lake *Traſimena* in *Tuſcany*. So great an earthquake

* This accident was conſidered as a very unfavourable omen; and it was followed by another circumſtance equally ominous, though not mentioned by *Plutarch*, which was, that when the enſign attempted to pull his ſtandard out of the ground, in order to march, he had not ſtrength enough to draw it up. But where is the wonder, ſays *Cicero*, to have a horſe take fright, or to find a ſtandard-bearer, who, perhaps, was unwilling to march, feebly endeavouring to draw up the ſtandard, which he had purpoſely ſtuck deep in the ground?

happened

happened during the engagement, that it destroyed several towns, changed the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of the mountains, yet this violent agitation of the earth was unperceived by the combatants. In this battle *Flaminius* fell, after having given signal proofs of his strength and valour, and round him lay the bravest men in the army. The *Romans* were entirely defeated, 15000 of them were slain, and as many taken prisoners. *Hannibal* being desirous of bestowing funeral honours on the body of *Flaminius*, on account of his valour, caused it to be sought for, but it could not be found; nor was it ever known what became of it. After the former defeat, the general who wrote, and the messenger who brought the news, related it only as a battle in which the loss on both sides was equal: but now *Pomponius* the prætor, on hearing the news of the defeat and death of *Flaminius*, assembled the people, and, without disguising the matter, cried, "We are "defeated, O *Romans!* our army is destroy-"ed, and the consul *Flaminius* killed. Think "therefore how you are to provide for your "safety." The people, in their first consternation, knew not what to determine; but soon uniting to chuse a dictator, their choice unanimously fell on *Fabius*, whose valour was tempered by prudence, and whose gravity of manners and undaunted courage, rendered him equal to the greatness of the office.

Fabius having entered on this high office, conferred the command of the horse on *Lucius*

Minucius, and aſked leave of the ſenate, that he himſelf might in time of battle ſerve on horſeback, which by an ancient law was forbid to the generals; and to render the people more ſubmiſſive and obedient, he cauſed himſelf to be attended by twenty-four lictors. Thus when the Conſul came to viſit him, he ſent to let him know, that he muſt diſmiſs his lictors with their faſces, and, laying aſide every enſign of authority, appear before him as a private perſon. He began his dictatorſhip by public acts of devotion, exhorting the people not to fear the enemy; but to appeaſe the anger of the gods, and made a vow before them, to offer in ſacrifice the whole produce of the next ſeaſon throughout all *Italy*, of cows, ſheep, goats and ſwine; and he alſo commanded the ſum of 333,000 ſeſterces, 333 denarii, and one third of a denarius, to be expended in games in honour of the gods.

Fabius having, by theſe religious acts, revived the courage of the people, he marched againſt *Hannibal*, not with the deſign of coming to an immediate engagement, but with a view to exhauſt the ſpirits and vigour of the enemy, and gradually to weaken and diſtreſs them. For this purpoſe he always encamped on the higheſt eminences, where their horſe could have no acceſs: he carefully watched the motions of *Hannibal:* when he marched, he followed him; and when he encamped, he did ſo too; but it was always upon the hills, and where he could not be com-

FABIUS offers in Sacrifice all the Cattle produced in Italy in one Season.

BRITISH
16 NOV 98
MUSEUM

compelled to come to an engagement; and by this means he gave them no reſt, but filled them with continual alarms. His dilatory behaviour made the people at *Rome*, and even thoſe in his own camp, ſuſpect his want of courage: this opinion alſo prevailed in the army of *Hannibal*, where that general was the only man that was not deceived; and as he clearly ſaw *Fabius*'s deſign, tried every method to bring him to an engagement, without which his army would in time be inevitably ruined: ſometimes he advanced to alarm him with the apprehenſions of an attack, and at others, marching from place to place, led him up and down the country. But all his artifices could not ſhake the firmneſs of the Dictator's reſolutions. *Fabius* was however rendered very uneaſy, by the unſeaſonable courage and impatience of *Minucius*, his general of the horſe; who perpetually haranguing the ſoldiers, inſpired them with eagerneſs for the battle, and a vain confidence of ſucceſs, whence they inſulted and derided *Fabius*, while they extolled the bravery of *Minucius*. This raiſing his vanity, he rallied *Fabius*'s encampments on the mountains, where, as from a theatre, his men might behold the flames and the deſtruction of the country; and would ſometimes aſk the friends of the Dictator, Whether, in leading them from mountain to mountain, he did not intend at laſt to carry them up into heaven, and hide them in the clouds from the army of *Hannibal?* Theſe ſpeeches were repeated to

Fabius by his friends, who perſuaded him to ſilence their ſneers by fighting the enemy. But he replied, "I ſhould be more timorous "than they repreſent me, ſhould I be ſo weak "as to quit my purpoſe through fear of ridi- "cule and reproach. There is no ſhame in "being apprehenſive for the ſafety of our "country; and he muſt be unworthy of "command, who, from the fear of calumny, "becomes the ſlave of thoſe he ought to go- "vern, whoſe folly and raſhneſs it is his duty "to reſtrain."

Some time after *Hannibal* deſiring to remove farther from *Fabius*, and to encamp in a more convenient place for forage, ordered his guides to conduct him to *Caſinum*; but they miſunderſtanding him, led him and his army towards *Caſilinum*, on the borders of *Campania*, where the adjacent country is entirely ſurrounded with hills, except where there is an opening to the ſea, a valley extending quite to the coaſt. But *Fabius* being well acquainted with the country, led his army round by another road, and detaching four thouſand men to ſtop up the end of the valley, which *Hannibal* had entered, poſted the reſt of his army on the neighbouring mountains, only ſending a body of his beſt light-armed troops to fall upon *Hannibal*'s rear; which they performed with ſuch ſucceſs, that they cut off eight hundred of them, and threw the whole army into diſorder. *Hannibal* now finding his error, immediately crucified his guides; but the *Romans* being ſo advan-

vantageouſly poſted that there were no hopes of breaking through them, his ſoldiers began to deſpair of ever eſcaping out of that paſs. In this diſtreſs, *Hannibal*, in the beginning of the night, cauſed 2000 oxen he had in his camp, to have torches and dry faggots faſtened to their horns, which being lighted, the beaſts were driven up the hills, near the narrow paſs guarded by the enemy, and while thoſe engaged in executing this order were thus employed, he marched ſlowly on. The oxen at firſt proceeded leiſurely, and appearing like an army marching with lighted torches, greatly ſurprized the herdſmen and ſhepherds on the neighbouring hills; but when the fire had burnt the horns to the quick, and they became enraged with pain, they ran and diſperſed themſelves about, toſſing their heads, burning each other, and ſcattering the flames and ſparks around, ſet fire to the buſhes. The *Romans* were filled with amazement, eſpecially thoſe left to guard the paſſes, who being at ſome diſtance from the main body, quitted their poſt with terror, and precipitately retired to their camp on the hills; and they were no ſooner gone, than a body of *Hannibal*'s light-armed troops ſeized the paſs, and ſoon after the army, with all the baggage, marched ſafely through.

Before morning *Fabius* diſcovered the ſtratagem, by ſome of the beaſts falling into the hands of the *Romans*; but for fear of an ambuſh in the dark, he kept his army all night to their arms in the camp; and as ſoon as it

was

was day charged the rear of the enemy, which had not yet got clear of the narrow pass, and threw them into great disorder; but *Hannibal* speedily detaching a body of light and active *Spaniards*, who had been used to climb mountains, these briskly attacked the heavy-armed *Romans*, killed many of them, and obliged *Fabius* to retire.

This action made the people of *Rome* exclaim, that it was now evident, that their Dictator was not only inferior to *Hannibal* in courage, but even in prudence and conduct. Still more to inflame them, that artful general burnt and destroyed all the country, except the lands belonging to *Fabius*, and even placed guards to secure them from damage. This had the effect *Hannibal* expected. The *Roman* people were exasperated against the Dictator, and the Tribunes inveighed loudly on his treachery, particularly *Metilius*, who thought, by depressing *Fabius*, to raise his uncle *Minucius*. The senate were also offended, that he had agreed with *Hannibal*, that the prisoners should be exchanged man for man; and if any on either side remained, they should be redeemed at 250 drachmas each; for when all were exchanged, there remained 240 *Romans*, which the senate not only refused to ransom, but reproached *Fabius* with acting contrary to the honour and interest of the commonwealth, in redeeming at so dear a rate, men whose cowardice has

betrayed t
This *Fabi*
no money,
to sell his
produced.
ed; and *F*
prisoners
many of th
he genero
Fabius
Rome to a
was oblig
army with
manded h
treated hi
nibal. H
ties, and
bius was n
every opp
ment wit
sent out a
forage, *M*
behind, k
to their v
apprehens
and when
retreated
Minucius,
encreased
stantly ca
Fabius, h
than the
however,
forum, w

* About 7l. 10s.

betrayed them into the hands of the enemy. This *Fabius* bore with patience, and having no money, ſent his ſon to *Rome*, with orders to ſell his land, and to bring him what it produced. This his ſon punctually performed; and *Fabius* having paid the ranſom, the priſoners were delivered to him; but though many of them afterwards offered to repay him, he generouſly refuſed to take their money.

Fabius being about this time called to *Rome* to aſſiſt at ſome ſolemn ſacrifices, he was obliged to leave the command of the army with *Minucius:* when he not only commanded him as Dictator, but earneſtly entreated him not to come to a battle with *Hannibal*. However, his commands, his entreaties, and his advice, had no effect; for *Fabius* was no ſooner gone, than *Minucius* ſought every opportunity of coming to an engagement with *Hannibal*, who having one day ſent out a conſiderable part of his army to forage, *Minucius* fell on thoſe that were left behind, killed a great number, and advanced to their very trenches; the enemy were even apprehenſive that he would ſtorm their camp; and when the reſt of the troops returned, he retreated without loſs. The preſumption of *Minucius*, and the ardour of the ſoldiers, were encreaſed by this ſucceſs. The news was inſtantly carried to *Rome*; and being told to *Fabius*, he cried, *That he dreaded nothing more than the ſucceſs of* Minucius. The people, however, tranſported with joy, ran to the forum, where *Metilius* their tribune, making

an

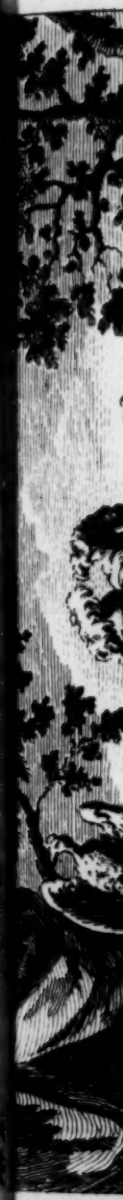
an oration in praiſe of *Minucius*, accuſed *Fa-*
bius and his friends with treachery and cow-
ardice. But he ſtepping forth, without con-
deſcending to anſwer his accuſations, bi-
them finiſh the ſacrifices as ſoon as po-
ſible, that he might return to the army
to puniſh *Minucius* for preſuming to fight con-
trary to his orders. A great tumult inſtantl-
aroſe among the people, who imagined tha-
Minucius's life was in danger; for the Dictato-
had the power of impriſoning and puttin-
any one to death without the form of a trial.
Now, however, none dared to oppoſe th-
Dictator, except *Metilius*, who, from hi-
office of Tribune, might ſay what he plea-
ed; but he boldly applying himſelf to th-
people, entreated them not to abandon the
brave *Minucius*, nor ſuffer him to periſh, like
the ſon of *Manlius Torquatus*, whom his fa-
ther beheaded, becauſe he had gained a
victory; and exhorted them to deprive *Fa-*
bius of the dictatorſhip. The people were
greatly affected by this diſcourſe; but no
being willing to deprive *Fabius* entirely of hi-
authority, they decreed that *Minucius* ſhould
have an equal ſhare in that office; which wa-
then a thing without precedent. The ene-
mies of *Fabius* now thought they had ſuffi-
ciently humbled him; but he ſubmitted wit-
great mildneſs, though he was extremel-
concerned for the ſake of the public, at find-
ing ſuch power lodged in the hands of
man of ſo impetuous a temper.

As *Fabius* was under apprehenſions that *Minucius*'s raſhneſs might hurry him and the army into ſome dangerous enterprize, he returned back with all poſſible ſecrecy and ſpeed, and found *Minucius* ſo elated with his new dignity, that, not ſatisfied with a joint authority, he required that they ſhould have the command of the army every other day by turns. *Fabius* rejected this propoſal, and thinking it leſs dangerous to divide the army, and that each general ſhould command his part, took the firſt and fourth legion, and delivered the ſecond and third to *Minucius*; each had alſo an equal ſhare in the auxiliary forces.

Minucius, on being thus exalted, could not forbear boaſting, that, from a regard to him, the people had humbled the dictatorial power. To which *Fabius* replied, "Conſider *Minucius*, it is *Hannibal* and not *Fabius* you are to combat; but if you muſt needs contend with your colleague, let it be by ſhewing, that he who is honoured and favoured by the people, is not leſs concerned for their welfare than he whom they have treated ill and diſgraced." But *Minucius* conſidering this as the raillery of an old man, immediately drew off his part of the army, and encamped by himſelf.

Hannibal, who was attentive to every thing, was not ignorant of what had paſſed. Between his army and that of the *Romans* was an eminence that ſeemed an advantageous poſt,

poſt, and round it was a large plain, tha
appeared at a diſtance perfectly ſmooth an
even, tho' it had many hollows and ditche
Had *Hannibal* pleaſed, he might eaſily hav
taken poſſeſſion of the above eminence; bu
he reſerved it as a bait for the *Romans*. Ob
ſerving that *Fabius* and *Minucius* were divid
ed, he in the night lodged a number of me
in the ditches and hollow places, and earl
in the morning ſent a ſmall detachment t
ſeize that poſt, in order to tempt *Minucius* t
diſpute the poſſeſſion of it. His deſign ſuc
ceeded, *Minucius* ſent out a body of ligh
armed troops, then ſome horſe, and at la
perceiving *Hannibal* himſelf advancing to th
aſſiſtance of his forces, marched with the re
mainder of his army, and with great reſoluti
attacked thoſe poſted on the riſing ground. Th
engagement continued equal for ſome time
but *Hannibal* no ſooner perceived the whol
army advanced within the toils he ha
laid for them, than he gave the ſignal, an
his men inſtantly ruſhed from the ditches an
low places, and attacking *Minucius*'s re
made great ſlaughter. The *Roman* army w
inſtantly thrown into the utmoſt terror an
confuſion. *Minucius*, filled with amazemen
looked round on his officers, and ſaw th
none of them could maintain their groun
the ſoldiers every where began to fly; b
even in this there was no ſafety; for t
victorious *Numidians*, who had ſpread thei
ſelves every way, cut to pieces all whom th
found ſcattered about the plain.



The Reconciliation of FABIUS *and* MINUCIUS.

In the mea
would happe
arms, and fr
viewed all th
cius's army
hearing thei
groan, ſtriki
" O heaven
" pected has
commanding
army to follo
" let all who
" aſſiſtance.
" of his co
" ward to
" him of it
ing at the he
of the *Numi*
were chargin
pieces all w
fearing that
Romans had
On which
change, fou
men, while
equally glad
that on this
friends, " D
" which hov
" tains wou
" upon us w
Fabius hav
dead bodies
camp, witho

In the mean while *Fabius* foreſeeing what would happen, had cauſed his troops to take arms, and from an eminence near his camp viewed all that paſſed, when obſerving *Minucius*'s army encompaſſed by the enemy, and hearing their diſtant cries, he with a deep groan, ſtriking his hand on his thigh, cried, "O heavens! how much ſooner than I ex-"pected has *Minucius* ruined himſelf!" Then commanding the enſigns to march, and the army to follow him, he called aloud, "Now "let all who remember *Minucius* haſten to his "aſſiſtance. He is a brave man, and a lover "of his country. If he has been too for-"ward to engage the enemy, we will tell "him of it hereafter." *Fabius* then marching at the head of his men, cleared the plain of the *Numidians*, and falling on thoſe who were charging the *Romans* in the rear, cut to pieces all who oppoſed him, while the reſt fearing that they ſhould be ſurrounded as the *Romans* had been, ſaved themſelves by flight. On which *Hannibal* ſeeing ſuch a ſudden change, ſounded a retreat, and drew off his men, while the *Romans* under *Minucius* were equally glad to retire in ſafety. 'Tis ſaid, that on this occaſion *Hannibal* ſaid to his friends, "Did not I tell you, that the cloud "which hovered on the tops of the moun-"tains would one time or other come down "upon us with a ſtorm?"

Fabius having ſuffered his men to ſtrip the dead bodies of his enemies, retired to his camp, without ſaying a harſh thing of his

colleague; who having on his ſide aſſembl
his troops, thus addreſſed them. "Never
"err, my fellow-ſoldiers, in conducting gre
"affairs, is above the power of human n
"ture; but to improve by our faults, is b
"coming a good and a prudent man.
"have ſome reaſons to accuſe *Fortune*; bu
"have many to thank her: for in a few ho
"ſhe has taught me what I had never befo
"learnt; that I am unfit to command othe
"and have need of another to command m
"and that we ought not to contend fo
"victory over thoſe to whom it is our adv
"tage to yield. For the future, therefo
"the dictator muſt be your commander:
"will ſtill, however, be your leader,
"ſhewing you an example of gratitude, a
"in being the firſt to obey his orders." H
then commanded all his men to follow him
the camp of *Fabius*, and on his entering
marched towards the dictator's tent. *F*
bius came out to meet him, when *Minu*
fixing his ſtandards before him, ſaluted h
with a loud voice by the name of Father, a
his ſoldiers ſaluted thoſe of *Fabius* with
title of Patrons, a name by which thoſe w
are made free call thoſe to whom they o
their liberty. When ſilence being ma
Minucius cried, "You have this day, *Fab*
"obtained a double victory; one by y
"valour over your enemies, and anot
"over your colleague by your humanity a
"prudence; by the one you have prefer
"us, and by the other we are inſtruct
H

"*Hanniba*
"diſgrace
"ſalutary.
"know no
"more ob
"for to hi
"life; bu
"the lives
Soon aft
and new C
immediatel
ample in t
afterwards
ſcure birth
where excl
Fabius prev
end of the
ſooner get
free *Italy* fr
credulous m

* It is di
whether *Fab*
praiſe. The
would not ſu
Minucius an
acting contra
behaviour of
generouſly a
licly confeſſin
ſhewed an i
gratitude, th
of pride and
† He was

"*Hannibal*'s victory over us, is not more "diſgraceful than yours is honourable and "ſalutary. I call you Father, becauſe I "know no title more honourable: but I am "more obliged to you than to my father; "for to him I am only obliged for my own "life; but to you I owe my own life, and "the lives of all here preſent*."

Soon after *Fabius* reſigned the dictatorſhip, and new Conſuls were created. Thoſe who immediately ſucceeded him, followed his example in the management of the war; but afterwards *Terentius Varro*, a man of an obſcure birth †, being made Conſul, he every where exclaimed, that while Conſuls like *Fabius* prevailed in *Rome*, there would be no end of the war, boaſting, that he ſhould no ſooner get ſight of the enemy, than he would free *Italy* from the arms of ſtrangers. The credulous multitude being flattered by theſe

* It is difficult to determine on this occaſion, whether *Fabius* or *Minucius* were moſt worthy of praiſe. The humanity and patriot ſpirit, which would not ſuffer *Fabius* to permit the headſtrong *Minucius* and his troops to be ruined by their acting contrary to his advice, was noble; but the behaviour of *Minucius* was not leſs great, in his generouſly acknowledging his errors, and publicly confeſſing the ſuperiority of *Fabius*; which ſhewed an ingenuity of mind, and a ſenſe of gratitude, that roſe above the narrow ſelfiſh views of pride and ambition.

† He was the ſon of a butcher.

promiſes, he raiſed 88,000 men, a greater army than had ever yet been ſent out of *Rome*. The wiſe and the experienced, and particularly *Fabius*, were much terrified and dejected, dreading, that if ſo great a body of the flower of the *Roman* youth ſhould be cut off, *Rome* itſelf would be inevitably loſt. They therefore addreſſed themſelves to *Paulus Æmilius*, the other Conſul, an experienced officer, tho' he ſtood in fear of the people, who had formerly ſet a fine upon him. They perſuaded him to be a check upon the raſhneſs of his colleague; and told him, that the intereſt of his country required that he ſhould oppoſe *Varro* as well as *Hannibal*. He ſet forward with the reſolution to follow their advice. But *Varro* inſiſting that they ſhould command alternately, when it came to his turn *, poſted his army at the village of *Cannæ*, by the river *Aufidus*, near *Hannibal*; and it was no ſooner day, than he ſet up the red flag over his tent, as the ſignal of battle. The *Carthaginians*, whoſe army did not amount to half the number of that of the *Romans*, were filled with terror; *Hannibal*, however, ordered them to take arms, while, with a few attendants, he rode to a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance, to take a view of the enemy

* *Plutarch* has here omitted an engagement in which *Paulus Æmilius* defeated the *Carthaginians*, who loſt about 1700 men, though the loſs of the *Romans* hardly amounted to an hundred.

who were now ranged in order of battle. When *Giſco*, a *Carthaginian* nobleman, obſerving, that the number of the enemy was very aſtoniſhing; *Hannibal*, with a ſerious countenance, replied, *There is ſomething yet more aſtoniſhing*; and *Giſco* aſking, *What he meant?* *Hannibal* gravely added, *It is, that in all that army there is not one man named* Giſco. At this unexpected jeſt all the company laughed; and as they, in returning to the army, told it to all they met, it cauſed a general laughter, which gave freſh ſpirits to the *Carthaginian* army, who naturally ſuppoſed, that their general would not, on ſuch an occaſion, be inclined to jeſting, had he not a thorough contempt of the enemy.

Hannibal, in this battle, drew up his men with their backs to the wind, which was not only very violent and ſcorching, but carried with it from the plain, clouds of duſt and ſand, which paſſing over the heads of the *Carthaginians*, greatly incommoded the *Romans*. He then placed all his beſt troops in the wings, and advanced the main body beyond them; commanding the wings, that when the main body gave way, and the *Romans* ſhould be far enough engaged between them, they ſhould on each ſide charge them in flank, and endeavour to encompaſs them. This had all the ſucceſs *Hannibal* expected, for the *Romans* preſſing on his front, which gave ground, his army was reduced into the form of an half-moon; and they ſtill preſſing forward, the wings joined behind, and charg-

ed them both in flank and rear with incre
dible ſlaughter of the *Romans*. The Conſu
Varro, with a ſmall number, fled to *Venuſi*
and *Paulus Æmilius*, with his body cover
with darts that ſtuck in his wounds, and wi
a mind full of anguiſh, ſat down on a ſton
waiting till the enemy would put an end
his life. His face was ſo disfigured and ſtaine
with blood, that his friends and domeſti
paſſed by without knowing him. Till at la
Cornelius Lentulus, a young patrician, reco
lecting him, alighted from his horſe, and o
fering it to him, entreated him to preſerve
life ſo neceſſary to the ſafety of the commo
wealth: but nothing could prevail on him
accept the horſe; he obliged *Cornelius* to re
mount him; then ſtanding up, and givi
him his hand, he commanded him to te
Fabius Maximus, that *Paulus Æmilius* had fo
lowed his directions to the laſt, without de
viating from the meaſures they had agre
upon; but that he had been firſt overpow
ed by *Varro*, and then by *Hannibal*. Havi
thus diſpatched *Lentulus*, he threw himſelf
the ſwords of the enemy. 'Tis ſaid, th
50,000 *Romans* were ſlain in this battle, a
4000 priſoners taken in the field, beſi
10,000 taken after the battle in both t
camps.

Hannibal's friends earneſtly perſuaded h
to purſue his victory, and, by following
flying *Romans*, enter with them through t
gates of *Rome*; as within five days he mig
ſup in the capitol. But perhaps his de

was owing to the interpoſition of ſome deity. On this occaſion, it is reported, that *Barcas*, a *Carthaginian*, told him, with indignation, "You know, *Hannibal*, how to obtain a "victory, but not how to uſe it." This victory, however, produced a favourable alteration in his affairs; for he now became maſter of the beſt provinces and towns in *Italy*, and of *Capua* itſelf, which was, next to *Rome*, the moſt flouriſhing and opulent *.

What was eſteemed cowardice and inactivity in *Fabius*, now appeared more than human prudence, and a divine wiſdom and penetration, that could, at ſo great a diſtance, foreſee ſuch almoſt incredible events. The *Romans* now therefore place all their hopes in him; his wiſdom is the temple, the altar, to which they fly for refuge; and his counſels alone prevent their deſerting the city. He whom they had branded with the name of puſilanimous, is, in this general dejection, the only man who ſhews no ſigns of fear: with a calm and ſerene brow he checks their effeminate lamentations, and prevents their aſſociating together in public, to bewail their common diſtreſs: he aſſembles the ſenate, encourages the magiſtrates, and places guards at the gates of the city, to prevent the timo-

* The preſent city of *Capua* was built out of the ruins of this ancient city, which are about two miles diſtant. See *Miſſon*'s Travels, inſerted in *The World diſplayed*, vol. xviii. p. 198.

rous

rous from flying. The feaſt of *Ceres* happening to fall within this time, that ſolemnity was omitted, leſt the number of ſorrowful countenances aſſembled together, ſhould add to the general dejection; and becauſe the worſhip moſt acceptable to the gods, is that which proceeds from chearful hearts. But thoſe rites were carefully performed that were thought proper to appeaſe their anger. About the ſame time two veſtal virgins being convicted of a criminal converſation with the other ſex, one died by her own hand, and the other was, according to cuſtom, buried alive.

The generoſity and moderation of the *Romans* now appeared very extraordinary; for on *Varro*'s returning home full of ſhame and confuſion for the ruin which, by his miſconduct, he had brought on his country, the whole ſenate and people went to the gates of the city to meet him, with all the reſpect due to his dignity as Conſul. And after ſilence was commanded, the magiſtrates, and *Fabius* in particular, commended him for not deſpairing of the commonwealth, but returning to adminiſter the government, and execute the laws.

The *Romans* no ſooner heard that *Hannibal* had, after the battle, marched into the remoter parts of *Italy*, than they began to recover their courage, and ſent out an army under the command of *Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, great generals, but of very

very differen
bold, active,
ſtill adhered
Poſidonius o
Marcellus the
ler; and tha
with the ſte
happy com
During the
bal had ſtill
either as C
for each was
Marcellus fe
Hannibal, a
ſhip. How
unſucceſsful
in ſome dan
ſent counte
principal in
ing to deliv
before it wi
reſolved to
army; but
appeared ir
covered, th
Hannibal.

Fabius th
ment, and
grounds, w
allies firm
the towns

* A town
called *Terra*

very different diſpoſitions; for *Marcellus* was bold, active, and enterprizing, and *Fabius* ſtill adhered to his former principles; ſo that *Poſidonius* obſerves, that the *Romans* called *Marcellus* their *Sword*, and *Fabius* their *Buckler*; and that the vigour of the one, mixed with the ſteadineſs of the other, formed a happy compound, very ſalutary to *Rome*. During the whole courſe of this war, *Hannibal* had ſtill to contend with theſe generals, either as Conſuls, Proconſuls, or Prætors; for each was five times Conſul. But at length *Marcellus* fell into a ſnare laid for him by *Hannibal*, and was killed in his fifth conſulſhip. However, all his art and ſubtilty were unſucceſsful with *Fabius*; though he was once in ſome danger of being ſurprized; he having ſent counterfeit letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of *Metapontum* *, engaging to deliver up the city, if he would come before it with his army. Accordingly *Fabius* reſolved to march thither with a part of his army; but conſulting the flight of birds, they appeared inauſpicious, and he ſoon after diſcovered, that thoſe letters had been forged by *Hannibal*.

Fabius thought that a mild and gentle treatment, and not being ſuſpicious on ſlight grounds, were the beſt means of keeping the allies firm to his intereſt, and of preventing the towns belonging to the *Romans* from re-

* A town of the ancient *Lucania* in *Italy*, now called *Terra di Mare*.

volting.

volting. 'Tis ſaid, that on his being to
that a *Marſian* in his army, who, in rank a
courage, was one of the moſt conſiderable m
among the allies, had perſuaded ſome of
ſoldiers to deſert, he ordered him to be c
ed, and then told him, that he was ſenſi
his merit and ſervices had not been ſufficie
ly rewarded; *but whenever you are aggrie*
he added, *I ſhall take it ill, if you do not a*
to me. He then gave him a fine horſe, w
other valuable preſents, and from that ti
none ſhewed more zeal and fidelity than t
Marſian.

Another time being informed by ſome
his officers, that one of the men frequen
quitted his poſt, and rambled out of t
camp; he aſked, what ſort of a man he wa
They anſwered, that he was a native of
cania, and there was not a braver man in t
army. *Fabius* immediately cauſed ſtrict e
quiry to be made with reſpect to his moti
for leaving the camp; and at length findi
that he went a conſiderable way to viſit
young woman, with whom he was in lo
he gave orders to find her out, and to con
her ſecretly to his tent. This taſk being p
formed, he ſent for the *Lucanian*, and call
him aſide, let him know that he was acquai
ed with his lying in the night out of t
camp, which was a capital offence agai
military diſcipline, and the *Roman* laws; b
as he was alſo ſenſible that he was a br
man, and had done good ſervice, he w
willing to forgive him; but would comm
hi

him to the c
ſwerable for
dier was fill
but *Fabius*
"This is t
"you; and
"ſhall ſee w
"on the ac
"deſign."
The city
rouſly delive
recovered.
had a ſiſter
affection for
tian, to who
the garriſon
ing that thi
contribute
communica
went to *Ta*
man army.
offices with
he gained
found no gr
the promiſe
the city to
dition. O
by whom th
the town,
a *Brutian*,
and that be

* This c
biſhop's ſee

him to the cuſtody of one who ſhould be anſwerable for his good behaviour. The ſoldier was filled with terror and amazement; but *Fabius* producing the woman, added, "This is the perſon who muſt anſwer for "you; and by your future behaviour we "ſhall ſee whether your night rambles were "on the account of love, or any other worſe "deſign."

The city of *Tarentum* * had been treacherouſly delivered up to *Hannibal*; but was thus recovered. A young *Tarentine* in the army had a ſiſter in that city, who had a tender affection for him, and was beloved by a *Brutian*, to whom *Hannibal* gave the command of the garriſon. The young *Tarentine*, imagining that this circumſtance might be made to contribute to the advantage of the *Romans*, communicated his deſign to *Fabius*, and then went to *Tarentum* as a deſerter from the *Roman* army. There, by employing his good offices with his ſiſter in behalf of her lover, he gained the *Brutian*'s friendſhip, and then found no great difficulty in perſuading him by the promiſe of great rewards, to deliver up the city to *Fabius*. This is the common tradition. Others however ſay, that the woman by whom the *Brutian* was perſuaded to betray the town, was not a native of *Tarentum*, but a *Brutian*, who had been *Fabius*'s concubine, and that being the *Brutian* governor's coun-

* This city ſtill exiſts; and is at preſent a biſhop's ſee in the kingdom of *Naples*.

try-

try-woman and acquaintance, *Fabius* priva
ly ſent her to corrupt him. In the me
while *Fabius*, in order to draw *Hannibal* t
greater diſtance, ſent orders to the garri
of *Rhegium*, to ravage the country of the *B*
tians, and lay ſiege to *Caulonia*; on wh
Hannibal marched with all his forces to
relief, and *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Taren*
which he cauſed to be aſſaulted by land a
ſea. Moſt of the *Tarentines* ran to defend
town on that ſide where the attack was ma
when *Fabius*, on a ſignal given by the *Brut*
commander, ſcaled the walls at the place
ſigned, and entered the town without op
ſition.

Here *Fabius* ſullied his glory by his bar
rity; for that the world might not think
had taken the city by treachery, he orde
his men to put all the *Brutians* to the ſwo
but this cruelty, inſtead of removing the
picion, made him alſo incur the reproach
perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the *Ta*
tines were likewiſe killed, and 30,000 of th
ſold for ſlaves. The army had the plunde
the town, and 3000 talents were brought i
the treaſury. While they were carrying
the ſpoils, an officer aſked, what ſhould
done with their gods, (meaning the ſtatu
and pictures in the temples) on which *F*
bius anſwered, "Let us leave their ang
"gods to the *Tarentines*." He, howev
carried away a *Coloſſian* ſtatue of *Hercu*
which he afterwards placed in the capit
near an equeſtrian ſtatue of himſelf in br

On this occa
ferior to *Ma*
arts, and mu
Hannibal
to the relie
within five m
was taken;
alſo an Hann
the ſame art
Fabius, up
decreed him
ſplendid tha
for his victo
now allowed
ſchemes he h
that an able
the hold of
vigour. For
worn away w
nervated b
other honour
mans, his fo
following ye
his office, an
peſs relating
through infi
rode up to h
ordered one
and to tell
with the Con
whole aſſemb
Fabius, expr
ment at the
venerable fo

On this occaſion, *Fabius* ſhewed himſelf inferior to *Marcellus*, both in taſte for the fine arts, and much more in mercy and humanity.

Hannibal had marched with great diligence to the relief of *Tarentum*, but being come within five miles of it, was informed that it was taken; on which he ſaid, *that* Rome *had alſo an* Hannibal, *and* Tarentum *was loſt by the ſame art by which he had obtained it.*

Fabius, upon this ſucceſs, had a triumph decreed him at *Rome*, which was much more ſplendid than that he had formerly obtained for his victory over the *Ligurians*: for he was now allowed to be ſuperior to *Hannibal*, whoſe ſchemes he had defeated with the ſame eaſe, that an able wreſtler diſengages himſelf from the hold of an antagoniſt, who has loſt his vigour. For *Hannibal*'s army was now partly worn away with continual action, and partly enervated by wealth and luxury. Among other honours conferred on *Fabius* by the *Romans*, his ſon was nominated Conſul for the following year. When he had entered upon his office, and was one day employed in buſineſs relating to the war, his father, either through infirmity of age, or to try his ſon, rode up to him: on which the young Conſul ordered one of the lictors to bid him alight; and to tell him, that if he had any buſineſs with the Conſul, he ſhould come on foot. The whole aſſembly inſtantly turned their eyes on *Fabius*, expreſſing by their looks their reſentment at the indignity offered to a perſon ſo venerable for his age and authority: but,

immediately alighting from his horſe, he r
and embraced him: "My ſon, ſaid he, I a
"plaud your ſentiments and behaviour. Y
"have ſhewn that you have a juſt ſenſe
"the dignity of your office, and of the gre
"neſs of the people you command. Th
"our forefathers advanced the glory of t
"commonwealth, by preferring it to the
"fathers and their children." Indeed it
ſaid, that the grandfather * of *Fabius Max*
mus, who had been five times Conſul, a
had by his victories obtained ſeveral triumph
condeſcended to ſerve as lieutenant under h
own ſon, when Conſul, in the expediti
againſt the *Samnites*; and that, when the ſ
was honoured with a triumph, the old m
followed his triumphal chariot on horſeba
for though he had an abſolute authority o
his ſon, and was the greateſt man in *Rome*,
gloried in ſhewing, that he was ſubject to t
laws and the magiſtrates.

Afterwards, when *Fabius Maximus* loſt h
ſon, he bore the affliction with the mode
tion of a wiſe man, and a tender parent; a
he himſelf made his funeral oration.

Publius Cornelius Scipio having defeated t
Carthaginians in *Spain* in many battles, dri
them out of that country, and reduced ſe
ral towns and nations under the obedience
Rome, he diſdained to carry on the war aga
Hannibal in *Italy*, which he conſidered o
as an antiquated method; but propoſed

* *Fabius Rullus.*

transfer it t
to the utmo
extreme dan
would be e
advice of th
authority an
ſenate to eſ
common pe
glory of tha
he at firſt a
ſafety, thou
excited by
him more vi
endeavoured
league, not
He alſo hinc
for the war,
it by his ow
wiſe endeav
luntarily of
declaiming
people, tha
bal, but wa
and to lead
their parent
a defencele
their doors
they would
gions then
thoſe, who
Spain.
When th
Scipio's aſt

transfer it to *Carthage*. This *Fabius* oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power, repreſenting the extreme danger to which the commonwealth would be expoſed, by complying with the advice of that raſh young man; and by his authority and perſuaſions, he prevailed on the ſenate to eſpouſe his ſentiments: but this the common people attributed to his envying the glory of that young warrior. But, I believe, he at firſt acted from a regard to the public ſafety, though his ambition, and his envy, excited by *Scipio*'s riſing glory, might render him more violent in his oppoſition. For he endeavoured to perſuade *Craſſus*, *Scipio*'s colleague, not to yield that province to *Scipio*. He alſo hindered his having money given him for the war, and obliged that general to raiſe it by his own credit and influence. He likewiſe endeavoured to diſcourage thoſe who voluntarily offered themſelves for that ſervice: declaiming, both before the ſenate and the people, that *Scipio* not only fled from *Hannibal*, but wanted to drain *Italy* of all its forces, and to lead the youth to a foreign war, while their parents, wives, and children, were left a defenceleſs prey to a victorious enemy at their doors. Thus terrifying the people, they would at laſt allow *Scipio* only the legions then in *Sicily*, and three hundred of thoſe, who had ſo bravely ſerved him in *Spain*.

When the *Romans* received the news of *Scipio*'s aſtoniſhing victories, the fame of

which was confirmed by the ſpoils he ſent to *Rome*; when they heard of a *Numidian* king taken priſoner, of a prodigious ſlaughter made of the enemy, of two camps burnt, in which was a vaſt number of arms and horſes; when *Hannibal* had received orders from the *Carthaginians*, to quit his fruitleſs expedition in *Italy*, and to return to defend his country; and when all the *Roman* people joined in extolling the actions of *Scipio*; even then *Fabius* contended, that a ſucceſſor ſhould be ſent in his place, on the trivial pretence of the mutability of fortune, as if ſhe would be weary of long favouring the ſame perſon. But the people were greatly offended at this behaviour, which they imagined, was dictated by a moroſe and envious diſpoſition; or that at leaſt age had rendered him timorous and deſponding. Nay, after *Hannibal* and his army had ſailed to *Africa*, *Fabius* oppoſed and damped the general joy of *Rome*, by telling the people, that *Hannibal* was a more dreadful enemy under the walls of *Carthage*, than he had ever been in *Italy*; and that it would be fatal to *Rome* whenever *Scipio* ſhould engage his victorious troops, ſtill warm with the blood of ſo many *Roman* generals, conſuls and dictators. Thus the people were perſuaded to believe, that the farther from *Rome* *Hannibal* was, the nearer was the danger. But afterwards, when *Scipio* had defeated *Hannibal*, and humbled the pride of *Carthage*, the *Romans* were tranſported with a joy that

exceeded all bounds; *Scipio*'s ſucceſs had exceeded their moſt ſanguine hopes; and the empire, which had long been ſhaken by theſe various ſtorms, was reſtored to its former ſecurity.

Fabius Maximus, however, did not live to ſee the proſperous end of this war, and to rejoice in the happineſs and firm ſecurity of the commonwealth; for he fell ſick and died about the time when *Hannibal* left *Italy* *. 'Tis ſaid, that *Epaminondas* died ſo poor, that he was buried at the expence of the public: *Fabius* indeed was not buried at the public charge; but in honour of him, every citizen contributed a ſmall piece of money for his funeral; not on account of his poverty, but to ſhew that they honoured him as the father of the people.

Such were the lives of *Pericles* and *Fabius*. The former preſided in his commonwealth when it was in the height of its power, and in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate; and he ſeemed to be ſupported by, rather than to ſupport the fortune of his country: but *Fabius* undertook the government in the moſt difficult times, and it was his buſineſs not to preſerve the felicity of a proſperous ſtate; but to raiſe and uphold it while ſinking. The many famous exploits of *Cimon*, *Myronides*, *Leocrates*, and

* His death happened in the 550th year of *Rome*, and the 201ſt before the Chriſtian Æra.

Tolmidas, furniſhed *Pericles* rather with a occaſion of entertaining the people with feaſ and games, than with defending his countr by arms. But when *Fabius* aſſumed the go vernment, he had before his eyes the dread ful ſight of *Roman* armies deſtroyed, of the conſuls and generals ſlain, of all the countri round ſtrewed with the bodies, and the river ſtained with the blood of his fellow-citizens and yet, by his prudence, and the firmne of his reſolutions, he ſuſtained the falli commonwealth. But, perhaps, it may b more eaſy to govern a city broken and tame by calamities, than to rule a people pam pered, like the *Athenians*, with long pr ſperity.

As to their martial exploits, *Tarentum* r taken, may be ſet in oppoſition to *Sa* won by *Pericles*; and the conqueſt of *Euba* may be oppoſed to the towns of the *Ca pania* regained by *Fabius*. But I do not fi that the latter won any ſet battle, exce that againſt the *Ligurians*; while *Peric* erected nine trophies, for as many victori obtained by land and ſea. Yet *Pericles* pe formed nothing worthy of being compar with the reſcue of *Minucius*, when *Fabi* ſaved both him and his army from utter d ſtruction: an action that comprehends t height of valour, of conduct, and humanit But, on the other hand, it does not appea that *Pericles* was ever ſo over-reached as *Fa bius* was by *Hannibal*'s ſtratagem of t

en, when t
ley of *Ca*
ape by nig
A good g
dgment of
reſight of
celled: he
miſeries thei
but *Scipio*'s
ken contra
ttended wi
the misfortu
ſagacity of
Romans, pro
of *Fabius* ha
leſs blameab
diffidence,
want of pe
poſite, ſpri
of judgmen
With re
bius's mild
cius, ſets in
conduct of
of *Cimon* a
men, and
niſhed by
and public
taking gif
preſents
Athenian a
ſelling his
as to the

en, when that general was ſhut up in the ley of *Caſilium*, and yet was ſuffered to ape by night.

A good general ought not only to form a gment of the preſent, but to have a clear eſight of future events. In this *Pericles* celled: he ſaw and told the *Athenians*, the miſeries their war would bring upon them: but *Scipio*'s expedition into *Africa*, undertaken contrary to the advice of *Fabius*, was attended with the greateſt ſucceſs; ſo that the misfortunes of the *Athenians* ſhewed the ſagacity of *Pericles*; and the ſucceſs of the *Romans*, proved how erroneous the judgment of *Fabius* had been. Indeed, a general is no leſs blameable in loſing an advantage through diffidence, than in falling into danger for want of penetration; for theſe faults ſo oppoſite, ſpring from the ſame root, the want of judgment and experience.

With reſpect to their civil policy; *Fabius*'s mildneſs towards his colleague *Minucius*, ſets in a very diſadvantageous light the conduct of *Pericles*, in his eager proſecution of *Cimon* and *Thucydides*, who, though good men, and friends to the nobility, were baniſhed by his means. As to their liberality and public ſpirit, *Pericles* ſhewed it, in never taking gifts, though he had innumerable preſents offered him from kings and the *Athenian* allies; and *Fabius*, in generouſly ſelling his eſtate to ranſom his ſoldiers. But, as to the beauty and magnificence of temples

and

and public ſtructures, erected by them both, it muſt be confeſſed, that all the ornaments and noble edifices of *Rome*, to the time of the *Cæſars*, were not to be compared, either with reſpect to grandeur of deſign, or expence, with thoſe erected at *Athens* by *Pericles* alone.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

ALCIBIADES.

ALCIBIADES is said to have been deſcended on his father's ſide from *Ajax*, and on the ſide of his mother from *Alcmeon*. *Cleon*, his father, fitted out a galley at his own expence, and acquired great honour in the engagement at ſea near *Artemiſium*; after which he was ſlain in the battle of *Coronea*, fighting againſt the *Bœotians*.

The manners of *Alcibiades* were ſo far from being uniform, that they varied according to the many viciſſitudes of his fortune; but ambition was his ſtrongeſt paſſion; which appeared, by ſeveral things related of him while a child. Once being hard preſſed in wreſtling, he got the hand of his antagoniſt

to

to his mouth, and bit it; on which his adverſary ſoon let go his hold, crying, *Thou biteſt*, Alcibiades, *like a woman*. *No*, replied he, *I bite like a lion**. He treated his maſters with great reſpect, except one who was to teach him to play on the flute, which he imagined could not be done in a graceful manner. "To play on the lute or harp, ſaid he, does "not diſorder the poſture of the body, or "the air of the face; but a man playing on "the flute is hardly to be known by his moſt "intimate friends. Beſides, he who touches "the harp, may diſcourſe or ſing at the ſame "time; but the flute ſtops the voice. There-"fore let the *Theban* youths pipe; for they "know not how to converſe; but we *Athe-"nians*, as we learn from our anceſtors, have "*Minerva* for our patroneſs, and *Apollo* for "our protector, one of whom threw away the "flute, and the other ſtripped off the ſkin of "him who played upon it." Thus, by a mixture of raillery and argument, he not only kept himſelf, but others from learning that inſtrument; and by his means it ſoon ceaſed

* *Plutarch* has, in the life of *Alcibiades*, thrown together, without the leaſt cenſure, many circumſtances that are very diſhonourable. Particularly *Alcibiades*'s thus eſcaping a fall, by biting the hand of his companion, ſeems leſs a proof of ambition, than of a cruel and ſavage temper; and notwithſtanding the ſeeming ſmartneſs of his anſwer, has more the appearance of cowardice than of courage.

to

to be reckoned a liberal accompliſhment, and was entirely exploded by the *Athenians*.

Socrates fearing leſt the beauty of his perſon, his wealth and quality, and the great number both of *Athenians* and ſtrangers, who flattered and careſſed him, might corrupt his mind, reſolved to interpoſe, in order to preſerve ſo hopeful a plant from periſhing, before the fruit came to perfection. *Alcibiades* ſoon found that his diſcourſes laid open to him the imperfections of his mind, and repreſſed his vain and fooliſh arrogance; and eſteeming them as the means uſed by the gods for the inſtruction and preſervation of his youth, he began to think meanly of himſelf, and to admire his wiſe inſtructor; and imperceptibly contracted an eſteem for him, that had a tendency to ſecure him from vicious and diſhonourable paſſions. The diſcourſes of that philoſopher not only drew tears from his eyes, but ſeemed to change his very ſoul. Yet ſometimes he would abandon himſelf to his flatterers, when they laid before him the allurements of pleaſure: but *Socrates* conſtantly endeavoured to draw him back, and purſued him as if he had been a fugitive ſlave. *Alcibiades* was indeed extremely addicted to pleaſure; and thoſe who endeavoured to corrupt him, took advantage of his vanity and ambition, to prevail on him to attempt the moſt extravagant enterprizes; perſuading him, that he ſhould no ſooner engage in public affairs, than he would obſcure the reſt of the ſtateſmen and generals, and even exceed the

the authority and reputation *Pericles* himſelf had obtained: but as iron that is ſoftened by fire, is again hardened by cold; ſo whenever *Socrates* obſerved that *Alcibiades* was miſled by pride, or a love of luxury, he corrected him by his diſcourſes, and rendered him modeſt and humble, by ſhewing his deficiencies, and how very far he was from perfection in virtue.

While he was young, he was a ſoldier in the expedition againſt *Potidæa*, in which *Socrates* was his companion in every engagement, and even lodged in the ſame tent with him. There once happened a ſharp ſkirmiſh, in which they both behaved with much bravery; but *Alcibiades* receiving a wound, *Socrates* threw himſelf before him, and ſaved him and his arms from falling into the hands of the enemy, and by that action might have challenged the prize of valour. But the generals ſeeming willing to adjudge the honour to *Alcibiades*, on account of his quality, *Socrates*, who was willing to encreaſe his thirſt after glory, was the firſt who gave evidence in his favour, and preſſed them to crown him, and preſent him a complete ſuit of armour. Afterwards, in the battle of *Delium*, when the *Athenians* were defeated, and *Socrates*, with a few others, were retreating on foot, *Alcibiades*, who was on horſeback, perceiving him, ſtaid to ſhelter him from danger, and brought him ſafe off, though the enemy, preſſing hard upon them, ſlew ſome of the party.

Alcibiades

SOCRATES instructing ALCIBIADES

Alcibia
ch I thoo
the maſte
ſwered, t
which he
went aw
him, tha
ſelf. "
" emplo
" read?
" thou
" of me
He wa
would ta
rious or
lious ma
to virtue
vice and
the moſt
of volup
and diſſo
the whol
ſtop to t
courſe of
of a pro
threeſcor
in which
be cut of
by his fr
blamed b
beauty of

Alcibiades once went, when he was paſt his childhood, to a grammar-ſchool; and aſking the maſter for one of *Homer*'s books, was anſwered, that he had nothing of *Homer*'s, on which he gave him a blow with his fiſt, and went away. Another ſchoolmaſter telling him, that he had *Homer* corrected by himſelf. "How! ſaid *Alcibiades*, and doeſt thou "employ thy time in teaching children to "read? If thou art able to amend *Homer*, "thou mayſt well undertake the inſtruction "of men."

He was of a very convertible genius that would take any impreſſion; he was either ſerious or gay; auſtere or affable; an imperious maſter, or a groveling ſlave; a friend to virtue and the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and vicious men; capable of ſupporting the moſt painful fatigues, or inſatiably fond of voluptuous delights. His irregularities and diſſolute conduct becoming the talk of the whole city, he reſolved to try to put a ſtop to thoſe reports, without changing his courſe of life. Having a very handſome dog, of a prodigious ſize, which had coſt him threeſcore and ten minæ *, he cauſed his tail, in which his beauty principally conſiſted, to be cut off. For this he was much cenſured by his friends, who told him, that he was blamed by the whole city, for ſpoiling the beauty of ſo handſome a creature. "This is

* About 150 *l. ſterling.*

BRITISH
16 NOV 98
MUSEUM

Alcibia
ch Ihood
the maſte
ſwered, t
which he
went awa
him, that
ſelf. "H
" employ
" read?
" thou n
" of men
He was
would tak
rious or
rious maſ
to virtue
vice and
the moſt
of volupt
and diſſol
the whole
ſtop to th
courſe of
of a proc
threeſcore
in which
be cut off
by his fri
blamed b
beauty of

Alcibiades once went, when he was paſt his childhood, to a grammar-ſchool; and aſking the maſter for one of *Homer*'s books, was anſwered, that he had nothing of *Homer*'s, on which he gave him a blow with his fiſt, and went away. Another ſchoolmaſter telling him, that he had *Homer* corrected by himſelf. "How! ſaid *Alcibiades*, and doeſt thou "employ thy time in teaching children to "read? If thou art able to amend *Homer*, "thou mayſt well undertake the inſtruction "of men."

He was of a very convertible genius that would take any impreſſion; he was either ſerious or gay; auſtere or affable; an imperious maſter, or a groveling ſlave; a friend to virtue and the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and vicious men; capable of ſupporting the moſt painful fatigues, or inſatiably fond of voluptuous delights. His irregularities and diſſolute conduct becoming the talk of the whole city, he reſolved to try to put a ſtop to thoſe reports, without changing his courſe of life. Having a very handſome dog, of a prodigious ſize, which had coſt him threeſcore and ten minæ *, he cauſed his tail, in which his beauty principally conſiſted, to be cut off. For this he was much cenſured by his friends, who told him, that he was blamed by the whole city, for ſpoiling the beauty of ſo handſome a creature. "This is

* About 150 *l. ſterling.*

" the very thing I want, replied *Alcibiades*, " with a ſmile. I would have the *Athenians* " diſcourſe about what I have done to my " dog, that they may not entertain themſelves " with ſaying worſe things of me."

It is ſaid, that on his firſt entering the aſſembly of the people, he heard a great noiſe; and enquiring the cauſe, was told that a donative was made to the people; on which he alſo gave them money. When the multitude applauding him, and ſhouting, he was ſo tranſported, that he forgot a quail he had under his robe, which being frighted at the noiſe, flew away. Upon this the people were louder in their acclamations than before, and many of them ran to purſue it: but it was caught by one *Anticchus*, a pilot, who reſtored it to *Alcibiades*, for which he was ever after very dear to him.

The noble birth of *Alcibiades*, his wealth, the perſonal bravery he had ſhewn in many battles, and the multitude of his friends and dependants, were of great advantage in introducing him into the management of public affairs; and beſides, he took great pains to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his eloquence, ſo that *Demoſthenes*, the moſt eloquent of men, in his oration againſt *Midias*, allows that *Alcibiades* was an excellent orator. On the other hand, his expences in the number of horſes and chariots, which he kept for the public games, were very extraordinary: for no private perſon, nor even any ſovereign prince, ever ſent ſeven chariots to the *Olympic* games,

games, or ever carried away three of the prizes: this was an honour which he alone obtained; and the emulation which ſeveral cities of *Greece* expreſſed in the preſents they made him on this occaſion, rendered his ſucceſs the more illuſtrious. The *Epheſians* erected for him a tent, magnificently adorned: he was furniſhed by the city of *Chios* with provender for his horſes, and with a great number of beaſts for ſacrifice; and by the *Leſbians* with wine and other proviſions, for the great entertainments he provided *.

On his applying himſelf, when very young, to the affairs of government, he ſoon leſſened the credit of all who pretended to lead the people, except *Phœax* and *Nicias*, who alone dared to contend with him. *Nicias* was advanced in years, and eſteemed an excellent general; but both *Phœax* and *Alcibiades* were beginning to grow into reputation: the former was deſcended from noble anceſtors; but

* *Antiſthenes* ſays, that this was done not only when *Alcibiades* was at the *Olympic* games, but in all his military expeditions and travels. "Whenever *Alcibiades* travelled, ſays he, four "cities of the allies miniſtered to him as his "handmaids: *Epheſus* provided tents for him "as ſumptuous as thoſe of the *Perſians*; *Chios* "found provender for his horſes; *Cyzicus* ſup-"plied him with victims, and proviſions for his "table; and *Leſbos* with wine, and all other "neceſſaries for his family."

in many things, and particularly in eloquence, was inferior to *Alcibiades*.

At this time there was in *Athens* a man named *Hyperbolus*, who was ſatyrized by all the writers of comedy of that age; but being careleſs of glory, and inſenſible of ſhame, felt no concern at the worſt things they could ſay: a diſpoſition of mind which ſome repreſent as boldneſs and courage, though it ought rather to be termed impudence and madneſs. He was liked by nobody, and yet the people frequently made uſe of him when they were diſpoſed to calumniate or diſgrace perſons in authority. By the perſuaſions of this fellow, the people were ready to pronounce the ſentence of ten years baniſhment, which they termed the *Oſtraciſm*. Thus conſulting their envy rather than their fear, they depreſſed and drove out of the city ſuch perſons as exceeded the reſt in power and authority. But when it was not doubted that the *Oſtraciſm* would fall on either *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, or *Phæax*, *Alcibiades* contrived to unite their ſeveral factions; and communicating his project to *Nicias*, turned the ſentence on *Hyperbolus* himſelf*, who was the firſt mean or obſcure perſon baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm.

The great reputation *Nicias* had acquired both among the *Athenians* and the enemies of *Athens*, gave *Alcibiades* great diſturbance; and notwithſtanding the rights of hoſpitality had

* See the life of *Nicias*.

long

long ſubſiſted between his family and the *Lacedæmonians*, he, from envy to *Nicias*, endeavoured to break the league which had been formed by that prudent general between the two ſtates. Obſerving that the *Argives*, from their jealouſy and hatred of the *Spartans*, ſought for an opportunity to break with them, he privately perſuaded them to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *Athens*. He exclaimed againſt the *Lacedæmonians* for having entered into a league with the *Bæotians*, and for not having delivered up *Panactum* entire, as they ought to have done, according to the treaty. He alſo exclaimed with great warmth againſt *Nicias*, as having ingratiated himſelf into the favour of the *Lacedæmonians*, by ſacrificing to them the intereſt of his country.

While *Alcibiades* was thus endeavouring to bring *Nicias* into diſgrace with the people, ambaſſadors arrived from *Sparta*, who, at their firſt coming, declared before the council, that they had full power to adjuſt all their differences on equitable terms; on which the people were ſummoned to aſſemble the next day to give them audience. *Alcibiades* being apprehenſive of the conſequences, contrived to have a private conference with the ambaſſadors, in which he told them, that the council always behaved with moderation and reſpect to ambaſſadors; but that the people were haughty, and ſet no bounds to their deſires: for if they let them know the full powers granted them by their commiſſion,

they would preſs them to yield to the moſt unreaſonable terms. He therefore adviſed them to treat with the people, without owning that they had a full power to treat; and promiſed, that from his zeal to ſerve the *Lacedæmonians*, he would be ready to aſſiſt them; and this he confirmed by an oath. Thus were they drawn from *Nicias*, to rely entirely upon *Alcibiades*, whom they now conſidered as a perſon of extraordinary wiſdom. The next day, when the people were aſſembled, and the ambaſſadors introduced, *Alcibiades* aſked them, with great civility, with what powers they came? and they anſwered, that they were not come as ambaſſadors. On which *Alcibiades* raiſing his voice, called them *faithleſs and inconſtant*; and ſhewed, that ſuch men could not poſſibly come with any intention to ſpeak or act with ſincerity. The council were highly incenſed; the people were in a rage, and *Nicias*, who had occaſioned their being ſent from *Sparta*, was ſtruck with conſternation *. Thus the *Lacedæmonian* ambaſſadors were diſgracefully ſent back, and *Alci-*

* So baſe and treacherous an action, aggravated by the guilt of perjury, and committed merely for the ſake of involving the *Athenians* in a war, that he might take the command of the forces, ſhews that *Alcibiades*, notwithſtanding all the leſſons of his excellent maſter, was, at leaſt in this inſtance, a villain, and unworthy of the honour of being a diſciple of *Socrates*.

biades

biades being declared general, ſoon prevailed on the *Argives*, the *Elians*, and the inhabitants of *Mantinea*, to enter into a confederacy with the *Athenians*.

By this great ſtroke of politics, which no body commended, he divided and ſhook almoſt all the *Peloponneſus*, and at length brought a very numerous army againſt *Mantinea*. After that battle, the officers of the army of the *Argives* endeavoured to deſtroy the popular government of *Argos*, and to make themſelves maſters of the city, which they performed by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*. But the people again taking arms, and gaining ſome advantages, *Alcibiades* came to their aid, and rendered their victory complete; after which he prevailed on them to join their city to the ſea by long walls, that they might the more ſecurely receive ſuccours from the *Athenians*; he himſelf procuring them maſons and ſtone-cutters from *Athens*. He likewiſe perſuaded the *Patrenſians* to join their city to the ſea, by lengthening their walls.

Alcibiades, to his political talents, joined the greateſt luxury and extravagance in his eating, drinking, and amours, and an exceſſive gaiety and effeminacy in his dreſs. He wore a long purple robe, which trailed on the ground; and that he might lie the ſofter, cauſed the planks of his galley to be cut away, that his bed, inſtead of being placed on boards, might be hung upon girths; and his ſhield, which was richly gilt, inſtead of having

having the uſual device of the *Athenians**, had a *Cupid* holding a thunderbolt. Theſe things filled the principal men in the city with the higheſt indignation; for they apprehended that his diſſoluteneſs of manners, and contempt of the laws, might produce a change in the government. However, his liberality, his public ſhews, and other inſtances of his munificence, by which he pleaſed the people; with the beauty of his perſon, and his ſtrength of body, added to his great courage, and extraordinary knowlege in military affairs, prevailed on the *Athenians* to endure his exceſſes with patience; they gave the ſofteſt name to his faults, and attributed them ſolely to his vivacity and good nature. *Alcibiades* having one day made an oration, which gave ſuch ſatisfaction, that the whole aſſembly honoured him by attending him home, he was met by *Timon* ſurnamed the *Man-hater*, who, inſtead of avoiding him, as he did others, took him by the hand, and ſaid, "Go on "boldly, my ſon; may thy credit with the

* On the ſhields of the *Athenians* were *Minerva*, the owl, and the olive. In the early ages, cities and private perſons had their particular enſigns, or, as they are now called, arms, which were properly the emblems of their original, their actions, or their inclinations. However, none but people of figure and reputation were allowed to bear theſe devices or arms on their ſhields; for thoſe worn by the common ſoldiers were ſmooth and white.

"people

" people encreaſe; for thou wilt one day " bring them calamities enough." At this ſome who were preſent laughed, and others reproached *Timon*; but on ſome of them this ſpeech made a deep impreſſion.

Before the death of *Pericles*, the *Athenians* had caſt a longing eye on *Sicily*, but made no attempt to conquer that iſland: however, after he died, they began by ſending ſuccours to all who had been oppreſſed by the *Syracuſans*; but now *Alcibiades* animating the *Athenians*, perſuaded them no longer to proceed ſecretly in that deſign, but to fit out a large fleet, in order to render themſelves maſters of *Sicily*. This was at firſt the utmoſt bounds of their ambition; but he looked upon it only as the firſt ſtep towards the accompliſhment of far greater deſigns. *Nicias* in vain endeavoured to divert the people from engaging in this expedition, by repreſenting the difficulty of taking *Syracuſe:* but as *Alcibiades* dreamed of nothing leſs than the conqueſt of *Carthage* and *Lybia*; and fancied that, by the acceſſion of theſe, he was already in poſſeſſion of the *Peloponneſus*, and even maſter of *Italy*, while he conſidered *Sicily* as little more than a magazine for the war, he inſpired the young men with the ſame hope; and theſe liſtening gladly to thoſe of riper years, who told them ſtrange things of this expedition, all were elated with the thoughts of it, and great numbers were ſeen ſitting in the places of exerciſe, ſome deſcribing the figure of the iſland, and others the ſituation of *Libya* and *Carthage*.

Carthage. But 'tis ſaid that *Socrates* the philoſopher, and *Meton* the aſtronomer, plainly ſaw the abſurdity of theſe hopes.

Nicias was, much againſt his will, appointed general, in conjunction with *Alcibiades*: but the *Athenians* imagined the war would proceed more proſperouſly, by the heat of *Alcibiades* being tempered by the cool caution of *Nicias*; and this they the rather choſe, as *Lamachus*, the third general, though then in the decline of life, had appeared in ſeveral battles no leſs raſh than *Alcibiades* himſelf. But when every thing was ready for their embarking, there happened ſeveral unlucky omens. The feaſt of *Adonis* was arrived, in which the women uſually expoſed in all parts of the city images reſembling dead men carried out to burial, and made funeral-lamentations and mournful ſongs. The images of *Mercury*, moſt of which were diſfigured in one night, terrified many perſons*. On this laſt affair both the council and the people frequently aſſembled, examining carefully every thing capable of leading to a diſcovery of the perſons concerned in this ſacrilegious outrage. During this examination certain ſlaves and ſtrangers were brought, who accuſed *Alcibiades* and ſome of his friends with defacing other images, and with profanely act-

* Statues of *Mercury* were placed at the doors of the houſes, and were made of ſtones of a cubical form, to denote the ſolidity of reaſon, and the ſtability of truth.

ing

ing the ſacred myſteries in a drunken debauch, in which they were guilty of an impious mockery of the goddeſſes *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*. This highly exaſperated the people againſt *Alcibiades*; which at firſt gave him great uneaſineſs: but finding that all the ſeamen deſigned for *Sicily* were fond of him, and that the forces of the *Argives* and the *Mantineans*, conſiſting of 1000 men, openly declared, that they engaged in this expedition for his ſake; and that if he was ill uſed, they would return home, he took courage, and appeared eager to juſtify himſelf. His enemies now became apprehenſive leſt the people, influenced by the preſent circumſtances, ſhould be the more gentle to him in their ſentence. To obviate this, they procured ſome orators, who did not appear to be his enemies, though they really hated him, and theſe told the aſſembly, that it was very abſurd that one created general of ſuch an army, and inveſted with abſolute power, ſhould, when the troops were completed, and the confederates arrived, loſe the preſent opportunity, and wait while the people were chuſing his judges by lot, and appointing a time to hear his cauſe. Therefore, added they, let him ſail immediately, and when the war is finiſhed, appear and make his defence.

Alcibiades ſoon perceiving the malicious intention of this delay, appeared in the aſſembly; where he repreſented, that it was very grievous to him to command ſo great an army, while he lay under ſuch calumnies as would

would render him worthy of death, could he not clear himſelf of the crimes laid to his charge. But that when he had proved his innocence, he ſhould chearfully proſecute the war, and no longer ſtand in fear of his falſe accuſers. The people were, however, not to be moved: they ordered him to depart immediately, and he ſet ſail with the other generals; the fleet, conſiſting of near an hundred and forty galleys, containing 5100 heavy armed ſoldiers, and about 1300 archers, ſlingers, and light armed men.

On their arrival on the coaſt of *Italy*, he landed at *Rhegium**, and there offered his advice as to the manner of carrying on the war, in which he was oppoſed by *Nicias*; but *Lamachus* joining in opinion with him, they ſailed to *Sicily*, and took *Catana*. Soon after this he was recalled by the *Athenians* to take his trial.

During his abſence, his enemies attacked him with more vigour, joining in their accuſation the breaking of the images, and the profanation of the ſacred myſteries, both of which they ſuppoſed were committed in purſuance of a conſpiracy formed to change the government. Upon this, all who had been accuſed were impriſoned by the people without being heard, and they even repented that they had not brought *Alcibiades* to his trial, and paſſed judgment upon him. Yet nothing certain was alledged againſt him. One of his

* Now *Reggio*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*.

accuſers

accuſers being aſked, How he knew the men who defaced the images? anſwered, that he ſaw them by the light of the moon, though the fact was committed juſt at the time of the new moon. Upon this all the ſenſible part of the city perceived, that it was a contrivance to ruin *Alcibiades*. Among thoſe detained in priſon in order to take their trials, was *Andocides* the orator, who was ſuſpected of defacing the images, chiefly becauſe a great *Mercury*, placed near his houſe, was almoſt the only remarkable ſtatue that remained entire. Among the other priſoners on the ſame account was one *Timæus*, a perſon inferior to *Andocides* in quality, but remarkable for his bravery and abilities, who having contracted a particular acquaintance with him, perſuaded him to accuſe himſelf and a few others of the crime, urging, that he would thus ſecure his pardon, by the decree of the people, while the conſequences of a trial would be uncertain. Pretending, that if he had a regard to the good of the public, that would be beſt promoted by his ſecuring many excellent men from the fury of the people, by the ſacrifice of a few ſuſpected perſons. Upon this *Andocides* accuſed himſelf and ſome others, and accordingly obtained his pardon, tho' all the others he accuſed ſuffered death, except a few who eſcaped by flight.

Notwithſtanding this, the anger of the people was far from being appeaſed; for being now no longer diverted by thoſe who had violated the images, they were at leiſure to

vent their whole rage on *Alcibiades*, and ſent a galley to recal him; prudently commanding thoſe who were ſent, to addreſs themſelves to him in the mildeſt terms, in order to prevail on him to follow them to *Athens*, to make his defence before the people: for they knew it would be eaſy for him to raiſe a mutiny in his defence. *Alcibiades*, juſt before his departure, prevented *Meſſina* from falling into the hands of the *Athenians*. On his arrival at *Thuria* he went aſhore, where, concealing himſelf, he eſcaped thoſe who were in ſearch of him. Upon this he was condemned for not appearing; his eſtate was confiſcated, and a decree was publiſhed, by which all the prieſts and prieſteſſes were ordered to curſe him; but a prieſteſs named *Theano*, is ſaid to have refuſed complying with it, ſaying, that her holy office obliged her to implore heaven for bleſſings, and not to offer execrations.

Alcibiades, on his flying from *Thuria*, paſſed over into the *Peloponneſus*, and ſtaid ſome time at *Argos*: but being there in fear of his enemies, he ſent to deſire the protection of the *Spartans*, offering to recompenſe them by his future ſervices, for all the miſchief he had done them while he was their enemy; and the *Spartans* promiſing him perfect ſecurity, he went to them, and met with a favourable reception. He immediately prevailed on them to ſend ſuccours to the *Syracuſans*, and to diſpatch *Gylippus*, at the head of an army into *Sicily*, in order to deſtroy the *Athenian* forces there.

there. He perſuaded them to make war on the *Athenians* on the ſide of the *Peloponneſus*, and alſo to fortify *Decelea*, which above all things ſtraitened and diſtreſſed the commonwealth of *Athens*.

Alcibiades now not only gained the eſteem of the *Lacedæmonians* by his ſervices, but by his ſtrictly conforming to the *Spartan* cuſtoms; thoſe who ſaw him bathe in cold water, feed on a coarſe cake, and eat their black broth, could ſcarcely believe he ever had a cook in his houſe, that he had ever known a perfumer, or worn a robe of *Mileſian* purple. For he had the art of gaining upon all men, by conforming to their cuſtoms and way of life with greater eaſe than a camelion can change his colour *. Thus at *Sparta* he was diligent at his exerciſes, frugal, and reſerved: in *Ionia* he was lazy and frolicſome: in *Thrace* he was always drinking, or on horſeback; and when he was tranſacting affairs with *Tygranes*, the lieutenant of the king of *Perſia*, he exceeded even the *Perſians* themſelves in pomp and magnificence. Not that his natural diſpoſition was ſo eaſily changed; but being ſenſible, that by purſuing his own inclinations, he would give offence to thoſe with whom he converſed, he transformed himſelf in ſuch a

* The reader may ſee a very curious account of the camelion, and particularly of its wonderful faculty of changing its colour, inſerted in *Thevenot*'s Travels, in *The World diſplayed*, vol. xii. pag. 26, 27, 28.

manner as to be moſt agreeable to them. But while he appeared at *Lacedæmon*, as if he had been educated under the auſtere diſcipline of *Lycurgus*, he was ſtill the ſame man as before; for while king *Agis* was abroad with his army, he corrupted *Timea* his wife, who proved with child by him, and called the infant *Leotychides*; but was ſo tranſported by her infamous paſſion, that ſhe would whiſper to her confidents and attendants, that he ought to have been named *Alcibiades*.

After the *Athenians* were defeated in *Sicily**, ambaſſadors arrived at *Sparta* from *Chios*, *Leſbos*, and *Cyzicum*, with propoſals to deſert the intereſt of the *Athenians*. The *Bœotians* interpoſed in favour of the *Leſbians*, and *Pharnabazus* in favour of the *Cyzicenians*; but the *Lacedæmonians*, by the perſuaſion of *Alcibiades*, choſe to aſſiſt the inhabitants of *Chios*. He himſelf ſetting ſail, prevailed on almoſt all *Ionia* to revolt; and joining the *Lacedæmonian* generals, did great miſchief to the *Athenians*. But *Agis* hating him for having diſhonoured his wife, could not bear with patience the glory he acquired; for moſt of the great actions were aſcribed to him; and others of the moſt powerful of the *Spartans* envying *Alcibiades*, prevailed on the magi-

* The reader may ſee a particular account of the ruin of the whole *Athenian* army, and the unhappy death of the generals, in the life of *Nicias*.

ſtrates,

ſtrates, to ſend orders into *Ionia* to have him aſſaſſinated.

Alcibiades, on being ſecretly informed of this treachery, retired to *Tiſaphernes*, the king of *Perſia*'s lieutenant, and inſtantly became his particular favourite: for *Tiſaphernes*, who was otherwiſe of a rough diſpoſition, and had a peculiar hatred to the *Greeks*, was ſo won by the flattery of *Alcibiades*, that he even endeavoured to exceed him in civility; and in complaiſance to him, gave the name of *Alcibiades* to the moſt beautiful of all his gardens. *Alcibiades* now quitting the intereſt of the *Spartans*, whom he could no longer truſt, endeavoured to hinder *Tiſaphernes* from aſſiſting them vigorouſly, and from entirely ruining the *Athenians*: for he adviſed him to allow both thoſe ſtates to exhauſt each other, by which means, he obſerved, they would become an eaſy prey to the king of *Perſia*. The *Athenians* now repented of the ſevere ſentence they had paſſed againſt him; while he, on the other hand, began to apprehend, that if that commonwealth was entirely deſtroyed, he ſhould fall into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were now his mortal enemies. The whole ſtrength of the *Athenians* was collected at *Samos*, where their fleet was employed in reducing thoſe who had revolted: but though they were ſtill in a manner equal to their enemies at ſea, they were afraid of *Tiſaphernes* and the *Phœnician* fleet, conſiſting of 150 galleys, which they expected in a

ſhort time; and if they came, all the hopes of *Athens* would vaniſh.

Alcibiades, on hearing this, ſent privately to the principal *Athenians* at *Samos*, promiſing to make *Tiſaphernes* their friend, if the nobility of *Athens* would check the inſolence of the people, and ſave that city from ruin, by aſſuming the government. They all readily liſtened to this propoſal, except *Phrynicus*, one of the generals; who ſuſpecting that *Alcibiades* was only making way for his return to his native country, inveighed againſt the people, in order to obtain the good opinion of the nobility. *Phrynicus* finding his advice rejected, now ſent privately to inform *Aſtyochus*, the enemy's general, of what had paſſed: but the latter being deſirous of gaining the favour of *Tiſaphernes*, and obſerving the influence *Alcibiades* had over him, revealed to that favourite all that *Phrynicus* had ſaid againſt him; on which *Alcibiades* ſent ſome perſons to *Samos*, to accuſe *Phrynicus* of treachery. All the other commanders being enraged at *Phrynicus*, that traitor ſeeing no other way to extricate himſelf, ſent to reproach *Aſtyochus* for betraying him; and at the ſame time made him an offer, to deliver up both the *Athenian* army and navy: but this baſe propoſal was alſo revealed to *Alcibiades*. In the mean time, *Phrynicus* foreſeeing that he ſhould probably be again accuſed by *Alcibiades*, informed the *Athenians* beforehand, that the enemy were ready to ſail, in order to fall upon them by ſurprize, and there-

therefore adviſed them to fortify their camp, and to be ready to defend their ſhips. The *Athenians* were employed in theſe preparations, when they received freſh letters from *Alcibiades*, adviſing them to beware of *Phrynicus*, who intended to betray the fleet to the enemy. But to this they gave no credit, imagining that *Alcibiades*, being perfectly acquainted with the deſigns of the enemy, endeavoured to impoſe upon them by ſending a falſe accuſation. But afterwards *Phrynicus* being ſtabbed in the market-place, by a ſoldier under the command of *Hermon*, who was then upon guard; the *Athenians* enquiring into the cauſe, ſolemnly condemned *Phrynicus*, as being guilty of treaſon, and decreed crowns to *Hermon* and his aſſociates.

The friends of *Alcibiades* now carrying all before them at *Samos*, *Piſander* was diſpatched to *Athens*, to encourage the nobility to deſtroy the republic, by their aſſuming the government; repreſenting, that on this condition *Alcibiades* would prevail on *Tiſaphernes* to become their friend and confederate. But they no ſooner got the adminiſtration of affairs into their hands, than they took the name of the five thouſand, though they amounted to no more than four hundred *.

* In order to amuſe the people with the ſhadow of a popular government, it was pretended, that the four hundred would call a council of five thouſand citizens, to aſſiſt them when they ſhould judge it neceſſary.

They

They now began to ſlight *Alcibiades*, and to proſecute the war with leſs vigour. The people in the city were terrified into ſubmiſſion, by the death of many of thoſe who had openly dared to oppoſe the four hundred. However, the *Athenian* army at *Samos* no ſooner heard the news, than, ſending for *Alcibiades*, they declared him their general, and deſired him to lead them againſt thoſe tyrants; but he wiſely oppoſed their precipitate reſolution dictated ſolely by rage, and by reſtraining them, ſaved the commonwealth; for had they returned to *Athens*, all *Ionia*, the *Helleſpont*, and the iſlands, would have fallen into the enemy's hands without oppoſition. In this he not only uſed perſuaſions to the whole army, informing them of the danger; but applied himſelf to them one by one, intreating ſome, and forcibly reſtraining others. He alſo, by his influence with *Tiſaphernes*, prevented the *Phœnician* fleet ſailing to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Soon after, the friends of *Alcibiades* aſſiſting thoſe who were for the popular government, drove out the four hundred uſurpers, on which the people not only deſired, but ordered *Alcibiades* to return from baniſhment. But being unwilling to owe his return merely to the compaſſion or favour of the people, he reſolved firſt to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the glory of having performed ſome eminent ſervice. Sailing therefore from *Samos* with a few ſhips, he cruized in the ſea of *Cnidas*, and about the iſle of *Coos*; where, being in-

informed that *Mindarus*, the *Spartan* admiral, was ſailed with his whole army to the *Helleſpont*, in purſuit of the *Athenians*, he followed in order to ſuccour the *Athenian* commanders. He arrived with eighteen galleys, juſt after a battle which had laſted from morning till night. Both ſides entertained a falſe idea of his coming; for the *Lacedæmonians* reſumed freſh courage, and the *Athenians* were terrified: but hoiſting the *Athenian* flag, he ſuddenly attacked the *Peloponneſians*, who had the advantage, and were engaged in the purſuit, and ſoon putting them to flight, drove the ſhips aſhore, and ſlew thoſe who endeavoured to eſcape by ſwimming, though *Pharnabazus* came to their aſſiſtance by land. In ſhort, the *Athenians* having taken thirty of the enemy's ſhips, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades now elated by his gaining ſo glorious a victory, reſolved to pay a viſit to *Tiſaphernes*; and having provided preſents, and a magnificent equipage, ſet out; but that general having been long ſuſpected by the *Spartans*, which he apprehended might occaſion his diſgrace, reſolved to clear himſelf of all ſuſpicion, and immediately ordered him to be ſeized and carried to *Sardis*. However, about thirty days after, *Alcibiades* was ſo happy as to eſcape from his keepers, and getting a horſe, fled to *Clazomene*, where he pretended that *Tiſaphernes* had conſented to his eſcape. From thence he ſailed to the *Athenian* camp, where hearing that both *Pharnabazus* and

Min-

Mindarus were at *Cyzicum*, he informed the ſoldiers, that it was neceſſary to attack the enemy both by ſea and land, in order to prevent their being in want of the proviſions neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance. Having cauſed the men to embark, he ſet ſail, ordering the ſmaller veſſels to be placed in the midſt of the fleet, and all poſſible care to be taken to prevent the enemy obtaining any notice of his approach; and a great ſtorm of rain and thunder contributing to conceal his deſign, he was not diſcovered, till the darkneſs diſperſing, he perceived the *Peloponneſian* fleet riding at anchor before the port of *Cyzicum*. *Alcibiades* now apprehending, that if the number of his ſhips was diſcovered, the enemy would endeavour to e cape by land, ordered the reſt of the captains to follow him, while he advanced with forty ſhips, and provoked them to fight. The *Peloponneſians*, deceived by this ſtratagem, and deſpiſing his ſmall number, advanced againſt him, and began the engagement; but ſoon after, ſeeing the other part of the fleet coming up, they we e ſeized with terror and fled. *Alcibiades* then, with twenty of his beſt ſhips, breaking through them, ſteered to the ſhore, and ſuddenly making a deſcent, purſued thoſe who abandoned their ſhips with great ſlaughter; and *Pharnabazus* and *Mindarus* coming to their ſuccour, were entirely defeated. *Mindarus* died fighting bravely, and *Pharnabazus* fled. Great numbers of the enemy were ſlain, and much ſpoil taken, together with all

all the ſhips. The *Athenians* alſo took *Cyzicum*, which was deſerted by *Pharnabazus*, and maſſacred all the inhabitants: by which means they not only ſecured the poſſeſſion of the *Helleſpont*, but drove the enemy out of the other ſeas.

Alcibiades's ſoldiers were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that thinking themſelves invincible, they refuſed to perform their exerciſe, or to lodge in the ſame quarters with the ſoldiers of *Thraſyllus*, who had a little before, received a great defeat near *Epheſus*, on which occaſion the *Epheſians* erected a brazen trophy to the diſgrace of the *Athenians*. But ſoon after, *Pharnabazus*, with a large body of horſe and foot, falling on the ſoldiers of *Thraſyllus*, who were ravaging the territory of the *Aydinians*, *Alcibiades* advanced to their aſſiſtance, routed *Pharnabazus*, and together with *Thraſyllus*, purſued the fugitives till night. Their troops then uniting, returned together to the camp, rejoicing and congratulating each other. The next day he erected a trophy, and then laid waſte the whole province under *Pharnabazus* with fire and ſword.

He next prepared to make war on the *Chalcedonians*, who having revolted from the *Athenians*, received a *Lacedæmonian* governor and garriſon: but being informed that they had ſent all their corn and cattle to the *Bithynians* their friends, he marched to the frontiers of *Bithynia*, and ſent a herald to complain of this proceeding, when, being terrified at his approach, they delivered up the whole booty,

and

and entered into an alliance with him. Then advancing to the ſiege of *Chalcedon*, he incloſed it with a wall from ſea to ſea. *Pharnabazus* advancing with a body of forces to raiſe the ſiege, *Hippocrates* the governor made a ſally; but *Alcibiades* dividing his army, engaged both at once, and not only put *Pharnabazus* to flight, but ſlew *Hippocrates* and great part of the garriſon. He then ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, to raiſe ſupplies of money.

Some having promiſed to betray the city of *Selybria** into his hands, and to give him a ſignal by a lighted torch, to enter it about midnight; one of the conſpirators beginning to repent of his deſign, the reſt, from the fear of a diſcovery, gave the ſignal before the appointed hour. When *Alcibiades* ſeeing the torch lifted up in the air, haſted towards the walls, with only about thirty men, commanding the reſt of the army to follow him with all poſſible diligence. Finding the gate open, he entered with his thirty men, and about twenty more of the light-armed ſoldiers, who were by this time come up. But he had no ſooner entered the city than he found the *Selybrians* in arms marching towards him: there was no poſſibility of eſcaping by oppoſing them; and being hitherto ſucceſs-

* *Selybria* a city of *Thrace*, now called *Romania*, is about thirty-five miles to the weſt of *Conſtantinople*.

ful,

ful, where-ever he had commanded, his honour would not ſuffer him to fly. But ſuddenly commanding ſilence, by ſound of trumpet, he ordered one of his men to make proclamation, that the *Selybrians* ſhould not take arms againſt the *Athenians*. Thoſe of the inhabitants who were moſt eager for the fight, were inſtantly cooled, from their ſuppoſing that all their enemies were within the walls; and the hopes of others, who were diſpoſed to an accommodation, were raiſed. While the parly laſted, and propoſals were making on each ſide, the whole army came up to the town. When *Alcibiades* rightly judging that the *Selybrians* were inclined to peace, and fearing that the city would be ſacked by the *Thracians*, who came in great numbers to ſerve as volunteers in his army, he commanded them all to retire without the walls; and upon the ſubmiſſion of the *Selybrians*, ſaved them from being plundered; and then taking a ſum of money of them, and placing a garriſon in the city, he departed.

The *Athenians*, who laid ſiege to *Chalcedon*, concluded a treaty with *Pharnabazus* on theſe terms, that the *Chalcedonians* ſhould again be ſubject to the *Athenians*, who ſhould make no inroad into the province of which *Ariobarzanes* was governor; that he ſhould pay them a ſum of money, and provide ſafe conduct for the *Athenian* ambaſſadors to the king of *Perſia*. *Alcibiades* afterwards returning thither, *Pharnabazus* inſiſted on his being alſo ſworn to the

treaty; which he refuſed, unleſs *Pharnabazus* would ſwear firſt. The treaty having been confirmed by oath on both ſides, *Alcibiades* marched againſt the *Byzantines*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city: but ſome of the citizens undertaking to betray the city to him, on condition of his preſerving the lives and effects of the inhabitants, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that an unexpected commotion in *Ionia* obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, and then ſet ſail with his whole fleet; but returning in the night, landed all his heavy armed ſoldiers, and without being diſcovered, marched up to the walls. At the ſame time his ſhips entering the harbour, began the attack with loud ſhouts. The *Byzantines*, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected attack, were wholly employed in the defence of their port and ſhipping; mean while thoſe who favoured the *Athenians*, received *Alcibiades* into the city. However the *Peloponneſians*, *Megarenſians*, and *Bœotians* in *Byzantium**; repulſed thoſe who attempted to land from the ſhips; and then being informed that the *Athenians* had entered the city on the other ſide, drew up, and went to meet them; but after a ſharp engagement, were defeated, and about three hun-

* Now the city of *Conſtantinople*, of which the reader may ſee a very particular account in *The World diſplayed*, vol. xi. from pag. 182, to 208.

dred

dred of the enemy taken priſoners. But not one of the *Byzantines* was ſlain after the battle; and, according to the agreement, the inhabitants received no injury in their perſons or effects.

Alcibiades, after ſo many victories, being ardently deſirous of ſeeing again his native country, ſet ſail for *Athens*, with his ſhips adorned on every ſide with ſhields and other ſpoils; taking with him a conſiderable number of galleys which had belonged to the enemy, and the enſigns and ornaments of many others, which he had ſunk and deſtroyed, amounting in all to two hundred. Little credit is however given to *Duris*, the *Samian*, who pretends that *Chryſogonus*, who had won the prize at the *Pythian* games, played on his flute as the galleys paſſed along, while the oars kept time with the muſic; that *Callipides* the tragedian, dreſſed in his purple robes, his buſkins, and the other ornaments he uſed in the theatre, encouraged thoſe who rowed, and that *Alcibiades*'s galley had a purple ſail. On the contrary, he entered the harbour with fear; nor would he venture on ſhore, but ſtood on the deck till he beheld *Euryptolemus* his nephew, and others of his friends and acquaintance, who came to receive him.

But he was no ſooner landed, than the multitude, overlooking the other captains, ſaluted him, and followed him with loud acclamations. Thoſe who were able to preſs up

to him, crowned him with garlands; and they who were obliged to keep at a diſtance, ſtood to view him, the old men pointing him out, and ſhewing him to the young ones. This public joy was, however, mixed with ſome tears, occaſioned by the remembrance of the miſeries they had endured. They reflected with ſorrow, that they could not have ſo fatally miſcarried in *Sicily*, and been diſappointed in all their hopes, had they left to *Alcibiades* the management of their affairs, and the command of their forces: ſince upon his ſtepping forth, when they were in a manner ruined at ſea, and could ſcarce defend their ſuburbs by land, while they were at the ſame time miſerably diſtracted by inteſtine factions, he had not only reſtored them to their ancient dominion of the ſea, but had made them every where victorious.

The aſſembly of the people being ſummoned and met, *Alcibiades* entered among them. He firſt lamented his own ſufferings, and then gently complained of their uſage, imputing all to ſome evil genius by which he was attended. Then expatiating at large on the hopes and deſigns of their enemies, he exhorted them to take courage. The people encircled his brows with crowns of gold, and created him general, with abſolute power both by land and ſea. A decree was alſo paſſed for reſtoring his eſtate, and that the ſacred heralds ſhould abſolve him from the curſes they had formerly pronounced againſt him.

Some,

Some, however, were diſturbed at his happening to arrive during a feaſt of *Minerva*, called the *Plynteria* *; a day which the *Athenians* eſteemed moſt inauſpicious, and on which they never undertook any buſineſs of importance. But, notwithſtanding this, he obtained his utmoſt wiſhes, and an hundred galleys were fitted out: but he choſe to ſtay till after the celebration of the grand myſteries †. Ever ſince *Decelea* had been fortified, the *Spartans* had continued maſters of the roads that lead from *Athens* to *Eleuſis*, and therefore the proceſſion being neceſſarily made by ſea, the people were obliged to omit the ſacrifices, dances, and other ceremonies that uſed to be performed in carrying the ſtatue of *Bacchus* to *Eleuſis*.

Alcibiades imagining that he ſhould honour the gods, and gain the eſteem of men, by reſtoring the ancient ſplendor of thoſe rites, reſolved to conduct the proceſſion by land, and to defend it with his army. Having formed this deſign, and communicated it to the prieſts, he placed centinels on the tops of the mountains, and taking with him the ſacred

* This was on the 25th of *May*, when the ſtatue of the goddeſs was ſtripped and waſhed.

† That is, the myſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, a feſtival which laſted nine days; and on the ſixth the ſtatue of *Bacchus*, who was ſaid to be the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Ceres*, was carried in proceſſion to *Eleuſis*.

and conſecrated perſons, with thoſe intruſted with the office of initiating others into the holy myſteries, he conducted them with great order and ſilence, the people extolling him, as one who performed at once the office of an high-prieſt, and of a general; and as the enemy did not dare to attack him, he brought them back in ſafety to *Athens*. This action gave the people ſuch an opinion of his conduct, that they conſidered their armies, while under his command, as invincible; and there were ſome who even perſuaded him to aſſume the ſovereignty, and eſtabliſh his power by aboliſhing the laws and ordinances of the people, and ſuppreſſing the pernicious ſpeeches of the orators.

Alcibiades now ſet ſail with a fleet of an hundred ſhips; and arriving at *Andros*, defeated both the inhabitants and the *Spartans*, by whom they were aſſiſted; but his not taking the city, gave his enemies an opportunity of forming accuſations againſt him. If ever man was ruined by his own glory, it was *Alcibiades*: for his continued ſucceſs had created ſuch an idea of his conduct and courage, that if he failed in any thing, it was imputed to his neglect. The people daily expected to hear the news, that he had reduced *Chios*, and the reſt of *Ionia*, and grew impatient that this was not done as ſuddenly as they deſired: for they never conſidered, that being to make war on an enemy, who was ſupplied with every thing from the king of *Perſia*, he was forced

forced to leave his camp, in order to procure money and proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. This gave occaſion to another accuſation brought againſt him. *Lyſander* being made admiral of the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, was furniſhed by *Cyrus* with a large ſum of money, on which he gave every mariner four oboli a day, though before they had only three; and as *Alcibiades* could hardly allow his men three oboli, he was obliged to go to *Caria* to furniſh himſelf with money. On this occaſion he left the command of the fleet to *Antiochus*, an experienced ſeaman, but raſh and inconſiderate, with ſtrict orders not to engage on any account during his abſence. However, diſregarding his orders, he made ready his own galley, and ſteered with another to *Epheſus*, where the enemy lay, when ſailing before the heads of their galleys, he made uſe of the higheſt provocations. Upon this *Lyſander* ſent a few veſſels after him, on which the *Athenian* ſhips coming to his aſſiſtance, *Lyſander* brought up his whole fleet, and ſoon obtained a complete victory, *Antiochus* himſelf being ſlain, and many of his ſhips and men taken.

Alcibiades, on being informed of theſe particulars, returned to *Samos*, from whence he ſet ſail, and offered battle to *Lyſander*, who, content with his victory, refuſed to engage. *Thraſybulus*, one of the enemies of *Alcibiades*, now leaving the army, went to *Athens*, where, in an oration to the people, he pretended that

that *Alcibiades* had loſt their ſhips, and ruined their affairs, by committing the government of the fleet during his abſence to thoſe who by their debaucheries had gained moſt credit with him, while he wandered about to raiſe money, abandoning himſelf to luxury and exceſs among the *Abydenian* and *Ionian* courtezans. It was alſo alledged, that he had fortified a caſtle near *Biſſantha* in *Thrace*, for a place of ſafe retreat, as if he either could not or would not live in *Attica*. Upon theſe informations, the *Athenians* ſhewed their reſentment againſt him, by chuſing other generals.

This no ſooner came to the knowledge of *Alcibiades*, than thinking himſelf in danger, he left the army, and forming a body of foreign forces, made war on thoſe *Thracians* who pretended to be free, and ſubject to no prince: by which means he not only amaſſed great treaſures out of the ſpoils; but ſecured the neighbouring *Grecians* from ſuffering by the incurſions of the Barbarians.

The new made generals, who were *Tydeus*, *Menander*, and *Adimantus*, were then at *Ægos Potamos*, with all the ſhips the *Athenians* had left: from thence they put out to ſea every morning, and offered battle to *Lyſander*, who lay at anchor near *Lampſachus*, and then returning back, lay the reſt of the day careleſsly, and without order, as if they deſpiſed the enemy: but *Alcibiades*, who was at no great diſtance, not thinking ſo ſlightly of the dan-

danger, mounted his horſe, and coming to the generals, told them they had choſen a very inconvenient ſtation, as they were in want of a ſafe harbour, and being at a conſiderable diſtance from any town, were forced to ſend for proviſions as far as *Seſtos*. He alſo blamed them for ſuffering the ſoldiers when on ſhore to diſperſe themſelves, while the enemy's fleet was ſo near. But, diſregarding theſe admonitions, *Tydeus* inſolently ordered him to be gone, ſaying, *That not he, but others had now the command of the forces.* On which *Alcibiades* departed; but told his friends, who accompanied him out of the camp, that had not the generals uſed him with ſuch inſupportable contempt, he would, within a few days, have forced the *Spartans*, however unwilling, either to fight the *Athenians* at ſea, or to deſert their ſhips. The event ſoon ſhewed how juſt a judgment he had formed of the errors committed by the *Athenians:* for *Lyſander* ſuddenly falling upon them when they leaſt expected it, took and carried away about two hundred gallies, with three thouſand priſoners, whom he afterwards put to death, and only *Conon*, with eight galleys eſcaped *. Soon after *Lyſander* took *Athens* itſelf, burnt all the ſhips he found there, and demoliſhed the long walls that joined the city to the harbour.

* A more particular account of theſe tranſactions, is given by *Plutarch*, in the life of *Lyſander*.

Al-

Alcibiades now dreading the *Lacedæmonians*, who were become masters both by sea and land, retired into *Bithynia*, sending great treasures before him; but being there plundered by some *Thracian* robbers, he lost great part of his wealth; upon which he resolved to go to the court of *Artaxerxes*, to implore aid for the defence of his country, having no doubt, but if that prince made a trial of his abilities, he would find him not inferior to *Themistocles*; and presuming that *Pharnabazus* would readily procure him a safe conduct, he went into *Phrygia*, where he was treated with great respect.

In the mean time the *Athenians* were deeply afflicted with the loss of empire; but when to this was afterwards added the loss of liberty; when *Lysander* had rendered *Athens* subject to thirty governors, and the ruin of the state was completed, they acknowledged and bewailed their former errors, and thought their second ill usage of *Alcibiades* more inexcusable than the first, since, without his being guilty of any fault, they had shamefully deprived the commonwealth of so accomplished a general, only because they were offended at his lieutenant for losing a few ships. Yet, in this melancholy situation of their affairs, they had some hopes left, that he would find a favourable opportunity of rescuing them from the insolence of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the outrages of their thirty tyrants. Even those tyrants themselves not only

only kept a watchful eye on all his actions; but dreading that he would not ſuffer the *Athenians* to acquieſce in their preſent unhappy circumſtances, applied to *Lyſander* to have him murdered. That *Spartan* general, however, remained unmoved by theſe diſcourſes, till at laſt the magiſtrates of *Lacedæmon* themſelves, either from the fear of his enterprizing diſpoſition, or to gratify the revenge of king *Agis*, expreſsly commanded him to get *Alcibiades* diſpatched. Upon receiving this order, *Lyſander* ſent a meſſenger to deſire *Pharnabazus* to put it in execution, who immediately remitted the affair to *Magæus* his brother, and *Suſamithres* his uncle. At that time *Alcibiades* reſided with a miſtreſs of his, named *Timandra*, at a ſmall village in *Phrygia*. Thoſe ſent to aſſaſſinate him not having the courage to enter the houſe, ſet it on fire; but *Alcibiades* getting together a great quantity of cloathes, and other furniture, threw them into the flames; then wrapping his robe about his left arm, and holding his drawn ſword in his other hand, he eſcaped through the fire, before it had time to burn through the furniture he had thrown into it. The Barbarians now inſtantly retreated, none daring to come within his reach; but, ſtanding at a diſtance, they ſlew him with their darts and arrows. They then departed; when *Timandra* taking his body, and wrapping it in her own robes, buried it as decently as her preſent circumſtances would

permit

permit. There are ſome, however, who do not impute the murder of *Alcibiades* either to *Pharnabazus*, *Lyſander*, or any other *Lacedæmonian*; but ſay, that keeping a young lady of a noble family, whom he had debauched, her brothers, to revenge this diſgrace, ſet fire to his houſe in the night, and on his endeavouring to eſcape the flames, ſlew him with their darts.

The Murder of ALCIBIADES.

BRITISH
16 NO 98
MUSEUM

L

C. M

T

ther; an
father, w
may be a
a man fr
ſtinguiſh
nature,
diſciplin
ſure to p
ſo while
ed him

THE

LIFE

OF

C. MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

THE family of the *Marcii* had produced many eminent patricians, before the birth of *Caius Marcius*, who being left an orphan, was educated by his mother; and has ſhewn, that the early loſs of a father, with whatever other diſadvantages it may be attended, does not neceſſarily exclude a man from being virtuous, or making a diſtinguiſhed figure in life. But as a generous nature, and great abilities, uncorrected by diſcipline, like a rich ſoil without culture, is ſure to produce a mixture of good and bad; ſo while his courage and firm conſtancy carried him through many glorious actions, his

ungoverned paſſions, and inflexible obſtinacy, rendered his behaviour harſh and diſagreeable to his very friends, and unſuitable to the eaſe and complaiſant freedom ſo neceſſary in ſocial converſe. Indeed the chief advantage of a regular education is, that it ſoftens and poliſhes a rugged temper, by the precepts of morality and the rules of prudence, teaching man to moderate his deſires, and avoiding extremes, to chuſe the wiſe and ſober mean. In thoſe early times, the virtue exerted in martial exploits being moſt encouraged at *Rome*, the name of virtue came to ſignify valour, and was particularly applied by the *Romans* to fortitude.

As *Marcius* had an extraordinary inclination for military exerciſes, he began to uſe his arms from his very childhood; but thinking that external inſtruments of deſtruction muſt be of little ſervice to thoſe unprovided with natural weapons, he prepared his body by exerciſe for all kinds of engagements, and acquired ſuch ſwiftneſs in purſuing, and ſuch ſtrength in grappling and wreſtling, that all whom he conquered, excuſed their weakneſs by pleading his invincible ſtrength, that was proof againſt all oppoſition and fatigue.

Marcius made his firſt expedition, when very young, againſt *Tarquin*, when being joined by the *Latins*, and other people of *Italy*, he exerted his laſt efforts to regain the throne. The armies engaged in a deciſive battle that had various turns. *Marcius* fought with great bravery in the dictator's preſence, and ſeeing a *Ro-*

Roman ſoldier fall near him, inſtead of deſerting him in that extremity, ſtept up to his reſcue, and ſlew the aggreſſor. The general having obtained the victory, crowned him with a garland of oak; a reward conferred on any ſoldier who had ſaved the life of a *Roman* citizen*: becauſe, perhaps, the oaken wreath being ſacred to *Jupiter*, the great guardian of their city, they thought it the moſt proper ornament for him who had preſerved a citizen.

We may here obſerve in general, that when young men, but ſlightly touched with ambition, obtain an early reputation, their thirſt for glory is ſoon quenched, and their deſires ſatiated: while honours conferred on a more ſolid mind only animate it, and like a briſk gale, drive it on in the purſuit of farther glory: a man of this diſpoſition is aſhamed to diſcredit the reputation he has won, and not to outſhine his paſt illuſtrious actions. Thus *Marcius*, always endeavouring to excel himſelf, added one great action to another, heap-

* This crown procured the wearer many privileges. He who had once obtained it might wear it always. When he appeared at the public ſpectacles, the ſenate and people roſe to do him honour, and he took his ſeat among the ſenators. He was not only perſonally excuſed from all troubleſome offices, but his father, and his grandfather by his father's ſide, were entitled to all theſe privileges and immunities. *Kennet*'s *Roman* Antiquities.

ing trophies upon trophies, till he even became the ſubject of a glorious conteſt among the generals, the latter ſtriving with his predeceſſor, which ſhould pay him the greateſt reſpect. *Marcius* never returned from any of the frequent battles which happened in thoſe times without honours or rewards; but while others made glory the end of their valour, the end of his glory was giving pleaſure to his mother: for the delight ſhe felt on hearing him praiſed, and at ſeeing him crowned, and her embracing him with tears of joy, made him think himſelf the happieſt man in the world. Thus *Epaminondas*, in the midſt of the univerſal applauſe, he received for obtaining the victory at *Leuctra*, little ſenſible to ſo affecting and deſerved a glory, cried, *My joy ariſes from my ſenſe of that which the news of my victory will give my father and mother.* He indeed had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing both his parents ſhare in his good fortune: while *Marcius* thinking himſelf obliged to ſhew his mother all the duty and gratitude that could have belonged to his father, thought he could never behave to her with ſufficient reſpect and tenderneſs.

His reputation for integrity and courage had gained him great authority at *Rome*, when the ſenate favouring the wealthy citizens, were at variance with the common people, who complained bitterly of the inſupportable cruelty of their creditors. Some were ſtript of their goods, which were either ſold, or kept as pledges; while others, who were already

ready reduced, were dragged to priſon, and kept in confinement, though they ſhewed the ſcars and wounds they had received in the ſervice of their country, particularly in the laſt expedition againſt the *Sabines*, in which they engaged upon a promiſe made by the rich creditors, and the conſul *Marcus Valerius*, that they ſhould be uſed with greater lenity for the future. This cauſed frequent tumults and mutinies in the city, which the enemy perceiving, began to ravage the country. The conſuls now ordered all who were of age to appear in arms; but nobody obeying the ſummons, ſome of the ſenators adviſed complying a little with the poor, while others, and particularly *Marcius*, oppoſed it. There had been frequent meetings of the ſenate, without their coming to any concluſion, when the people perceiving no hopes of redreſs, ſuddenly roſe in a body, and leaving the city, marched peaceably up the aſcent now called the *Holy Mount*, and encamped by the river *Anio*, exclaiming as they paſſed, That though the rich had expelled them from the city, *Italy* would every where afford them air, water, and a place of burial when they died, which was all they had to expect in *Rome*, except the privilege of being wounded or killed in time of war, in the defence of their oppreſſors.

This ſtep filled the ſenate with conſternation, and dreading the conſequences of this rupture, they choſe ſome of their body, who by their mode ation had rendered themſelves

moſt agreeable to the people, and ſent them to entreat their return. Their chief ſpeaker was *Menenius Agrippa*, who, after uſing many arguments, concluded his diſcourſe with this celebrated fable. "All the other members "of the body, ſaid he, once happened to "mutiny againſt the ſtomach, which they "accuſed as the only idle part, while the reſt "ſuffered mighty hardſhips, and endured "much labour to ſupply that, and adminiſter "to its appetites. But the ſtomach laughed "at their folly, in being ignorant that ſhe "receives the nouriſhment only that ſhe may "diſtribute it, for the ſupport of all the other "parts. This, O citizens! added he, is "exactly the caſe between you and the ſe-"nate; for their counſels and determina-"tions, on the affairs of the commonwealth, "all tend to your welfare, and diſpenſe health "and happineſs to the body politic." The people ſeemed pacified by this diſcourſe; but inſiſted on having the liberty of chuſing five men to protect thoſe who ſhould need their aſſiſtance: this the city granted, and theſe are the officers called Tribunes of the people.

The city being thus re-united, the people readily enliſted for the war, in order to oppoſe the *Volſcians*. *Cominius* the conſul inveſted *Corioli* their capital, when the reſt of the *Volſcians*, to prevent its being taken, collected all their forces, in order to give the *Romans* battle before the city, that they might be attacked on both ſides at once. To avoid this inconvenience, *Cominius* divided his army, and march-

marching with one part to meet the *Volſcians*, left *Titus Lartius*, a man of great bravery, to carry on the ſiege. The inhabitants of *Corioli*, now deſpiſing the ſmall number of the beſiegers, made a briſk ſally, and drove the *Romans* to their trenches. But *Marcius*, with a ſmall party, then ruſhing out to their aſſiſtance, cut in pieces the firſt of the enemy he met, ſtood the ſhock of the reſt, and ſtopping them in their full career, with a great ſhout recalled the *Romans*. Several of his own party then rallying and joining him, the enemy immediately retired, when *Marcius* preſſing cloſe on their rear, drove them, as they haſtily fled, to the very gates of the city, where perceiving that the *Romans* were beaten off by the multitude of darts that were thrown from the walls, and that none of his followers had the boldneſs to think of falling in among the fugitives, and following them into the city, where the enemy were numerous and well-armed, he animated them by his words and actions, crying, Fortune has now ſet open *Corioli*, not ſo much to ſhelter the vanquiſhed, as to receive the conquerors. Then being ſeconded by a few who were willing to venture with him, he forced his way through the midſt of the enemy, and entered the gates with them, none daring to oppoſe him. But then looking round, and perceiving only a ſmall number of the *Romans*, and that his friends and enemies were mingled together, he, with amazing ſtrength, agility, and courage, broke through all oppoſition, forcing ſome to fly, and

and others to throw down their arms, as if all reſiſtance had been vain. Mean while, *Titus Lartius*, finding ſo fair an opportunity, entered the gate with the reſt of the *Romans*.

Coriоli being thus taken, moſt of the ſoldiers were inſtantly employed in plundering the houſes, and carrying off their booty; at which *Marcius* being highly offended, reproached them, that while the conſul and their fellow-citizens were perhaps encountering the other *Volſcians*, and hazarding their lives in battle, they baſely ſpent their time in running up and down in queſt of plunder, and under the pretence of enriching themſelves, declined the preſent danger. Then putting himſelf at the head of the few who were willing to follow him, he took the road in which the conſul's army had marched before him, encouraging his men, and beſeeching the gods, that he might be ſo happy as come to the aſſiſtance of *Cominius* before the fight was over, and thus partake in the danger of the action.

It was then the cuſtom among the *Romans*, when they ſtood in order of battle, and were taking up their bucklers, and girding their gowns, to make a verbal teſtament, naming who ſhould be their heirs in the hearing of three or four witneſſes. In this poſture *Marcius* found them at his arrival, with the enemy in view. The army were much diſordered at ſeeing him coming covered with blood and ſweat, and attended only with a ſmall train: but on his haſtily making up to the con-

conſul with an air of ſatisfaction, giving him his hand, and relating how the city had been taken; they were filled with joy, which ſpreading through the army, they called aloud to the conſul to lead them on to engage the enemy. *Marcius* then deſiring to know where the *Volſcians* had placed their chief ſtrength; *Cominius* told him, that he thought the troops of the *Antiates* in the main body were the beſt and braveſt ſoldiers. "I "beg then, ſaid *Marcius*, to be placed di- "rectly oppoſite to theſe daring people." The conſul, admiring his ardour, granted his requeſt. On their joining battle, *Marcius* ruſhing before the reſt, charged with ſuch fury, that the vanguard of the *Volſcians*, unable to ſtand their ground, broke their ranks: but rallying again, encloſed him on each ſide, when the conſul obſerving his danger, diſpatched ſome picked men to his reſcue. The diſpute then growing warm, the *Romans* bore ſo hard on the enemy, that they ſoon put them to flight; when reſolving to proſecute the victory, they entreated *Marcius*, who was fatigued and faint through loſs of blood, to retire to the camp; but he replying, that wearineſs did not become conquerors, joined in the purſuit.

The next morning the army being aſſembled about the conſul's tent, *Cominius* mounted the tribunal, and having firſt returned thanks to the gods for the important victory he had obtained, he addreſſed himſelf to *Marcius*,

cius, whom he extolled for his many ſignal exploits, ſome of which he himſelf had been a witneſs of, and he had heard of the reſt from *Lartius*. He deſired him to chuſe a tenth part of the treaſure, horſes, and captives, and alſo preſented him a horſe adorned with rich trappings. This was applauded by the whole army, when *Marcius* ſtepping forth, declared, that he thankfully accepted of the horſe, and was extremely ſatisfied with the praiſes with which the conſul had honoured him; but deſired to have no other ſhare of the ſpoils than the reſt of the army. "I "have only one favour, ſaid he, to beg, "which, I hope, will not be denied me. "Among the *Volſcians* I had a friend bound "with me in the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, "a perſon of the ſtricteſt virtue and probity, "now become a priſoner, and from the poſ- "ſeſſion of freedom and wealth, reduced to "ſlavery and poverty: but he would eſteem "it a ſufficient deliverance, if, by my inter- "ceſſion, he is preſerved from being ſold as "a ſlave." Theſe words were followed by the loudeſt acclamations; for more were now charmed with his generoſity than with his valour; for even thoſe who began to envy the honours conferred on him, could not help acknowledging, that he deſerved ſtill greater, for his thus nobly declining them. When the acclamations ceaſed, and ſilence was obtained, *Cominius* turning to the army, ſaid, "There is no way, my fellow-ſoldiers, of

"forcing

" forcing theſe gifts on a perſon ſo unwilling " to accept them: let us therefore give him " what it is not in his power to refuſe, and " paſs a vote that he ſhall hereafter be call- " ed *Coriolanus.*" Hence he obtained his third name. Thus among the *Greeks*, additional titles were given to ſome for their exploits, as *Soter*, that is, *the Preſerver*; and *Callinicus*, *the famous Conqueror*; to others for their good qualities, as *Euergetes*, *the Benefactor*; and *Philadelphus*, *the lover of his brethren*; and to others for ſomething remarkable in their perſons, as *Grypus*, *eagle-noſed*; and *Phyſcon*, *big-bellied.*

An end was no ſooner put to the war againſt the *Volſcians*, than the popular tribunes and factious orators began to raiſe new commotions. The greateſt part of their arable land had been left unſown, and the time of war not allowing them time to fetch proviſions from other countries, there was extraordinary ſcarcity at *Rome*. Whence the leaders of the people obſerving, that corn was not brought to the market, and if there had been any, the people wanted money to buy it, repreſented, that the wealthy, to revenge their former quarrel, had contrived to bring a famine on the poor. Mean while an embaſſy arrived from the *Velitrani* to deliver up their city to the *Romans*, and to deſire that ſome new inhabitants might be ſent to people it, as a late peſtilential diſeaſe had made ſuch havock, that there was hardly a tenth part of the old inhabitants remaining. This was con-

conſidered by the moſt prudent, as a ſingular advantage: for the ſcarcity of proviſions had rendered it highly expedient to diſburden the city of its ſuperfluous members, while the faction might be weakened by ſending away the moſt reſtleſs and turbulent of the people. Theſe were therefore ſingled out by the conſuls to ſupply the deſolation at *Velitræ*, while others were ordered to prepare for marching againſt the *Volſcians*.

But both theſe deſigns were oppoſed by *Brutus* and *Sicinius*, two factious tribunes, who publicly exclaimed, that the conſuls, under the mild and plauſible pretence of ſending a colony, were precipitating ſo many poor citizens into the gulph of perdition, by removing them into an infectious air, to a place covered with noiſome carcaſes, and expoſing them to the fury of ſome ſtrange and revengeful deity. Then, as if unſatisfied with deſtroying ſome by hunger, and expoſing others to the plague, that every calamity might at once fall on the citizens, they involved them in a needleſs war. The people were ſo irritated by this diſcourſe, that on the conſular ſummons, none of them would appear to be enliſted for the war. This threw the ſenate into great perplexity: but *Marcius Coriolanus* warmly oppoſing the tribunes, in ſpite of them diſpatched a colony to *Velitræ*; but ſtill ſeeing the people obſtinately perſiſt in refuſing to inrol themſelves for the expedition againſt the *Volſcians*, he muſtered his own clients, and thoſe of as many others as he could perſuade

ſuade to attend him, and making an inroad into the territories of the *Antiates*, obtained a conſiderable booty of corn, cattle, and priſoners, and reſerving nothing for himſelf, thoſe who had ventured with him, returned loaded with rich pillage. Upon this, thoſe who ſtaid at home repented of their perverſeneſs, and envied thoſe who had reaped ſuch advantages from the enterprize: they likewiſe repined at the honours acquired by *Coriolanus*, and conſidered his increaſe of power as a diminution of that of the people. However, ſome time after, when he ſtood for the conſulſhip *, they began to think it would be a ſhame to repulſe a brave man of ſo diſtinguiſhed a family, who had performed ſuch ſignal ſervices for the public. It was cuſtomary for thoſe *Romans* who aſpired to offices and dignities, to ſolicit and careſs the people at their public aſſembles, clad only in a looſe gown, without any coat under it, either becauſe ſuch an habit ſeemed to ſuit beſt the humility of a ſuppliant, or becauſe thoſe who had received wounds in war might by this means readily ſhew viſible proofs of their courage: for their appearing ungirt, open, and without any cloſe garment, did not, in thoſe early ages, proceed from any ſuſpicion of their being capable of bribery. Hence the people, on ſeeing the ſcars viſible on his body, reverenced the virtue and magnanimi-

* This happened in the 488th year before the birth of Chriſt.

ty of *Marcius Coriolanus*, and agreed to chuſ
him conſul. But he appearing at the day o
election, attended by a pompous train of ſe
nators, and the patricians exerting themſelv
vigorouſly in his behalf, the kindneſs th
people had for him ſubſided, and they wer
filled not only with envy, but with the ap
prehenſions, that if he, who was ſo deſirou
of increaſing the power of the ſenate, an
was ſo highly reſpected by that body, ſhoul
be inveſted with the power belonging t
the conſulſhip, he would entirely deprive th
people of their liberty. For theſe reaſon
Marcius was rejected, and two others declare
conſuls. At this the ſenate were highly ex
aſperated, and *Marcius*, who had been uſe
to indulge the more violent and impetuou
paſſions without controul, could not bear th
diſgrace with the leaſt temper, but left th
aſſembly in great diſorder, and in a violen
rage againſt the people.

About this time a great quantity of co
was brought to *Rome*, part of which had be
bought up in *Italy*, and the reſt was ſent fro
Gelo king of *Sicily*. Many began now to co
ceive hopes that their affairs would take
happy turn, and that the city would thus
delivered at once both from want and d
cord. The ſenate immediately aſſembl
the people flocked about the ſenate-hou
expecting that what was ſent as a gift, wou
be diſtributed *gratis*, while what had be
bought, would be ſold at a moderate pri
and this regulation was propoſed by ſome

the ſenators. But *Marcius* ſtanding up, called thoſe who ſpoke in favour of the multitude, flatterers of the rabble, and traitors to the ſenate, maintaining that by ſuch mean and fooliſh gratifications, they had nouriſhed the pernicious ſeeds of boldneſs and petulance, which they ought to have ſtifled at their firſt appearance, and not to have ſuffered the plebeians to obtain ſuch ſtrength, by giving ſuch exorbitant authority to their tribunes. That thus the ſenate had rendered the people formidable, by complying with all their demands; whence living in a kind of anarchy, they no longer obeyed the conſuls, and owned no ſuperiors but the heads of their own faction. For us to ſtop here, added he, and decree largeſſes and diſtributions, would be to cheriſh and indulge their inſolence to our own ruin*. They will not ſure pretend to theſe liberalities as the reward of the military ſervices they have ſo often deſerted, nor of that ſeditious retreat by which they abandoned their country; but will rather conclude that our bounty is the effect of fear. Hence there will be no end of their diſobedience and ſeditious practices. On the contrary, if we are wiſe, we ſhall immediately deſtroy that tribunicial power, which is a plain ſubverſion

* The moſt cruel propoſal in this ſpeech is omitted by *Plutarch*; for *Coriolanus* had the barbarity to propoſe, that in order to humble the people, the corn ſhould be ſold at as high a price as when there was the greateſt ſcarcity.

of the conſulſhip, and has cauſed an oppoſition of intereſts that leaves no hope of our being ever united as formerly, or ever ceaſing to diſtreſs and torment each other.

By this ſpeech *Marcius* inſpired the young ſenators with the ſame ſentiments, and he was extolled by almoſt all the rich. However, ſome of the elder ſenators foreſeeing the ill conſequences of ſuch extremes, oppoſed him. At the ſame time the tribunes who were preſent running out, called the plebeians to come in to their aſſiſtance. On which the people flocking together with great noiſe and tumult, were informed of *Marcius*'s propoſal. This threw them into a rage, and the tribunes cited *Marcius* to appear before them, to give an account of his behaviour: but he contemptuouſly repulſing the officers who brought him the ſummons, the tribunes themſelves came with the *Ædiles*, and attempted to ſeize him; but the nobility coming to his aſſiſtance, thruſt away the tribunes, and beat the *Ædiles*; however, the approach of night put a ſtop to the conteſt.

Early the next morning the conſuls obſerving the people running from all quarters to the forum, were ſtruck with fear, and aſſembling the ſenate, deſired that body to conſult by what mild and gentle methods the people might be appeaſed; obſerving that ſo dangerous and critical a conjuncture required gentle meaſures, and the mildeſt and moſt diſpaſſionate counſels. The majority of the ſenate now giving their aſſent, the conſuls went out,

and

and endeavoured to appeaſe the reſentment of the people by mildly anſwering their complaints, and by a mixture of gentle reproaches and tender admonitions; promiſing at the ſame time, that as to the ſupply of the market with proviſions at a reaſonable rate, there ſhould be no difference between them. The people now growing cool, as appeared by the quiet attention they paid to the conſuls, the tribunes ſtood up, and declared, that as the ſenate were now pleaſed to ſubmit to reaſon, the people were ready to comply with every thing that was fair and equitable; but at the ſame time required *Marcius* to anſwer, Whether he had not moved the ſenate to ſubvert the government, by deſtroying the authority of the people? Whether he had not diſobeyed their ſummons? And whether, by the blows and other public affronts given to the *Ædiles*, he had not, as much as was in his power, commenced a civil war? *Coriolanus*, however, appearing to juſtify himſelf, the people ſtood ſilent with quiet attention; but when, inſtead of the ſubmiſſive language they expected, he began, with a fierce tone of voice, and a ſtern intrepid countenance, to make an accuſation, rather than an apology, the whole multitude expreſſed their indignation, and *Sicinius* the boldeſt of the tribunes, after a ſhort conference with his colleagues, ſaid with a loud voice, "*Marcius* is condemned to die by the tribunes of the people:" and then commanded the *Ædiles* to take him away, and throw him down from

the *Tarpeian* rock. But on their going to ſeize him, the patricians in a tranſport of paſſion all cried out for help, and ſurrounding *Marcius*, ſome made uſe of their hands to keep off the arreſt, while others ſtretched out theirs in ſupplication to the multitude. In this tumult the friends of the tribunes perceiving that it would be impoſſible to carry *Marcius* to puniſhment without a great ſlaughter of the nobility, perſuaded them to have recourſe to the forms of juſtice, and to refer all to the general ſuffrage of the people. On which *Sicinius* deſiſting from the attempt to ſeize him, aſked the patricians, What they meant by forcibly reſcuing *Marcius* out of the hands of the people, when they were going to lead him to puniſhment? Upon this the patricians demanded, What he meant by dragging one of the worthieſt men of *Rome*, to an illegal execution, without a trial? *Sicinius* then replied, that this ſhould no longer ſerve them for a pretence for quarrelling with the people, and ordered *Marcius* to appear the third market-day to make his defence.

The patricians were well ſatisfied with this reſpite, and returned home pleaſed with their having brought off *Marcius* in ſafety. The *Roman* markets were held every ninth day, and during the time allowed to *Marcius*, the ſenate frequently met, to conſult by what means they might act ſo as neither to deſert *Marcius*, nor to give the tribunes an opportunity of creating new diſorders. *Coriolanus* ſeeing the ſenate in ſuſpence, and divided between

tween their kindneſs for him, and their apprehenſions from the people, aſked the tribunes what crimes they intended to lay to his charge? and being told, that he would be accuſed of deſigning to aſſume a tyrannical power; "Let me go and clear myſelf, ſaid "he, of that imputation; and I promiſe to "ſubmit to any puniſhment, if I am con-"victed, provided you bring no other charge "againſt me."

The people being aſſembled, the tribunes obtained by force that the ſuffrages ſhould be taken by tribes, and not by centuries, by which means the moſt factious and indigent of the people would carry it at the poll againſt the patricians, the military men, and wealthy citizens. Then waving the plea of *Coriolanus*'s aſpiring to ſupreme power, they repeated what he had ſaid in the ſenate againſt an abatement of the price of corn, and on the abolition of the tribunitial power; adding as a new impeachment, his having divided among his followers, who had ravaged the country of the *Antiates*, the ſpoils they had taken, inſtead of bringing it into the public treaſury: for all which he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment.

The people now departed with greater ſigns of joy and triumph, than ever they had ſhewn for a victory over their enemies. There was then no need to look on the habit, or other marks of diſtinction, to diſtinguiſh a ſenator from any vulgar citizen; for it ſoon ap-

appeared, that all the plebeians were chearful and gay, and that a ſorrowful countenance was the diſtinguiſhing mark of a patrician. But *Marcius* ſeemed the ſame ſteady man; and while all others of his rank were deeply affected, he alone appeared unmoved by his misfortune. But this appearance of inſenſibility was neither owing to reaſon, to his patience, or his moderation; but ſolely to the violence of his indignation and reſentment, which, like a kind of madneſs, baniſhed from his mind all weakneſs and dejection. On his return home, he embraced his mother and wife, whom he found in tears; and taking his leave of them, exhorted them to bear his loſs with patience. Then haſtening to one of the city gates, attended by all the nobility, he, without aſking or receiving any thing from them, departed with only three or four of his clients, who accompanied him. He remained in ſolitude a few days at one of his villas near *Rome*, diſtracted by a variety of thoughts ſuggeſted by rage and indignation, and taken up in conſidering how he might be revenged of the *Romans*. At laſt he reſolved to kindle a war againſt them.

For this purpoſe he determined to make trial of the *Volſcians*, juſtly imagining that their ſtrength and power were not ſo much abated, as their hatred encreaſed, by the defeats they had received from the *Romans*. At *Antium* was a man of great wealth and bravery named

named *Tullus Amphidius**, to whom the *Volſcians* paid the reſpect due to a king. But beſides the common quarrel of their country, they had a very great perſonal enmity and hatred to each other, on account of the frequent menaces and challenges that had paſſed between them in the field. Notwithſtanding all this, knowing that he ardently longed to humble the *Romans*, he reſolved to viſit him, and dreſſing himſelf in a manner moſt likely to diſguiſe his perſon, entered *Antium* in the evening, went directly to the houſe of *Tullus*, and ſlipping in undiſcovered, ſeated himſelf by the fire, with his head covered, and without ſpeaking †. The family, though filled with amazement, were afraid to diſturb him, for he had a certain air of majeſty that commanded reſpect. They therefore related this extraordinary affair to *Tullus*, who was then at ſupper; but riſing from table, he came to *Coriolanus*, and aſked him, Who he was, and what buſineſs he had there? Upon which *Marcius* unmuffling himſelf, after a ſhort pauſe, ſaid, "If, *Tullus*, thou canſt not "yet call me to mind; if after ſeeing me "thou canſt doubt who I am, I muſt be my "own accuſer. Know then that I am *Caius* "*Marcius*, the author of ſuch miſchief to

* Both *Dionyſius* and *Livy* call him *Tullus Attius*.

† As the fire-place was eſteemed ſacred, it was uſual for ſupplicants to reſort to it as to a ſecure aſylum.

"thee

" thee and to the *Volſcians*; which, ſhould
" I deny, my ſurname of *Coriolanus*, would be
" a ſufficient evidence againſt me; for I can
" boaſt no other recompence for all the dan-
" gers and hardſhips I have ſuffered in the
" wars between us, than a name which pro-
" claims my enmity to thy nation. And this
" is all that is now left me: of all other ad-
" vantages I have been ſtripped by the envy
" and outrage of the *Roman* people, and the
" cowardice and treachery of the ſenate. I
" am driven out as a baniſhed man, and am
" become an humble ſuppliant before thy
" houſhold gods, not for ſafety and protecti-
" on; for I ſhould not have come hither,
" had I been afraid to die; but for venge-
" ance againſt thoſe who have expelled me
" from my country. If, *Tullus*, thou art
" diſpoſed to attack thine enemies, come on;
" reap the benefit of my miſeries, and render
" my perſonal injuries a national advantage
" to the *Volſcians*. I ſhall be of greater ſer-
" vice to the *Volſcians* in fighting for them,
" than I was to the *Romans*, from my being
" acquainted with the ſecrets of the enemy.
" But if thou art averſe to the war, it is
" neither fit for me to live, or thee to pre-
" ſerve one who has been always thine ene-
" my, and now, when he would be thy
" friend, proves uſeleſs." *Tullus*, highly de-
lighted, give him his hand. " Riſe, *Marcius*,
" ſaid he, and take courage. The preſent
" thou makeſt of thyſelf is ineſtimable; and
" thou mayeſt be aſſured the *Volſcians* will
" not

"not be ungrateful." He then took him with him to the table, where he entertained him with the utmoſt kindneſs and hoſpitality, and ſeveral days were ſpent in deliberating on the beſt method of conducting the war.

Marcius and *Tullus* now adviſed the chief men of *Antium* to invade the territory of the *Romans*, while they were at variance among themſelves; but they were unwilling to embrace the motion, on account of their having ſworn to obſerve a truce of two years. However, the *Romans* themſelves ſoon furniſhed them with a pretence, by proclaiming in the midſt of their ſhews and exerciſes, that all the *Volſcians* who were preſent ſhould depart the city before ſun-ſet. Some affirm, that this was a contrivance of *Marcius*, who ſent a perſon privately to the conſuls, falſely to accuſe the *Volſcians* of a deſign to fall upon the *Romans*, and fire the city during the public games. However, this affront exaſperating the *Volſcians*, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to demand the country and towns taken from them in the late war. A propoſal which the *Romans* received with indignation, and returned for anſwer, That if the *Volſcians* firſt took arms, the *Romans* would be the laſt who laid them down.

Tullus now calling a general aſſembly of the *Volſcians*, and they declaring for a war, he propoſed their ſending for *Marcius*, aſſuring them that the ſervice they would now receive from him as an ally, would be greater than the

the miſchief he had done them when an enemy. Upon this *Marcius* was called, and having made an oration to the people, they found he knew how to ſpeak as well as to fight, and that he excelled in oratory as well as in courage; he was therefore immediately joined in commiſſion with *Tullus*.

Marcius being unwilling to remain idle while the *Volſcians* were preparing for the war, aſſembled ſome of the moſt bold and forward of the volunteers, and, without ſtaying for their being enrolled, made a ſudden incurſion into the territories of the *Romans*, by which means the *Volſcians* got ſuch a quantity of plunder, that they were tired with carrying it off, and had more proviſions than they were capable of conſuming in their camp. *Coriolanus*'s chief intention in this expedition was to encreaſe the people's jealouſy of the nobles: for which purpoſe he would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to ravage the eſtates of the patricians, or to ſeize any thing that belonged to them. This ſucceeded according to his wiſhes: for the ſenators reproached the people for unjuſtly baniſhing ſo conſiderable a perſon; and on the other hand, the people accuſed the ſenators of bringing *Coriolanus* upon them out of enmity to the plebeians, that while they endured all the calamities of war, the nobility might ſit like unconcerned ſpectators, with full aſſurance that the war itſelf would be the guardian of their lands and ſubſtance.

After

After this expedition, which was of conſiderable advantage to the *Volſcians*, as it inſpired them with a contempt for the enemy, a very conſiderable army was aſſembled, and *Tullus*, by his own choice, ſtaying with the troops appointed to defend the *Volſcian* cities, *Coriolanus* put himſelf at the head of the other forces, and marched firſt towards *Circæum*, a *Roman* colony, which ſurrendering at diſcretion, was ſecured from being plundered. He then ravaged the country of the *Latins*, expecting that the *Romans*, who were in alliance with them, would have marched to their aſſiſtance; but the *Roman* people ſhewing little inclination for the ſervice, and the conſul's being unwilling to hazard a battle, at a time when their office was almoſt ready to expire, the *Latin* ambaſſadors were unſucceſsful. Thus *Marcius* finding no army to oppoſe him, took by aſſault *Pedum*, *Bola*, *Labicum*, and *Tolerium*, and the inhabitants of thoſe cities having the courage to defend themſelves, he not only plundered the houſes, but even had the cruelty to ſell the citizens for ſlaves. At the ſame time he ſhewed ſuch regard to all who joined his party, that he encamped at a diſtance from them, and prevented their lands being ravaged. Afterwards he took *Bailæ*, which was at the diſtance of twelve miles from *Rome*; and there inhumanly put to the ſword almoſt all who were of age to bear arms, and took much plunder. The other *Volſcians*, who had been ordered to ſtay behind to defend their cities, now hearing of his ſucceſs,

had not the patience to ſtay at home, but running with their arms to *Marcius*, declared, that he alone was their general. His reputation was now ſpread throughout *Italy*; all admiring the bravery and ſkill of a man who, by changing ſides, had alone given ſo ſudden a turn to the affairs of the two nations.

The *Romans* were now in the utmoſt confuſion, and being averſe to fighting, ſpent all their time in cabals, ſeditious diſcourſes, and perpetual quarrels, till they were informed that the enemy had laid ſiege to *Lavinium*, which contained the gods of their fathers, and from whence they derived their original, on account of its being the firſt city built by *Æneas* in *Italy*. This ſiege produced a ſudden change in the minds of the people, and at the ſame time a very unexpected one among the patricians: for the former demanded the repeal of the ſentence againſt *Marcius*, and propoſed his being recalled; while the ſenate, who aſſembled to deliberate upon it, rejected the propoſal, either from the humour of contradicting whatever was propoſed by the people, or from their unwillingneſs that he ſhould owe his return to them; or, perhaps, being exaſperated at his now diſtreſſing all alike, they conſidered him as the declared enemy of his country.

Marcius, on hearing of the vote for prohibiting his return, grew more enraged than ever, and quitting the ſiege of *Lavinium*, marched towards *Rome*, and encamped about five miles from the city. The nearneſs of his

his approach cauſed ſuch a general conſternation, that it for the preſent put a ſtop to the diſſentions among the *Romans*; for none durſt oppoſe the people's deſign of recalling him. The women now ran frighted up and down the ſtreets; the old men were ſeen praying in every temple with tears and earneſt ſupplications; and there being a general want of courage and prudence, they were at a loſs how to provide for their ſafety, and all acknowledged, that the ſenate had been guilty of an error in oppoſing the return of *Coriolanus*, and thus provoking him when they ought rather to have ſtudied to appeaſe him: all parties therefore unanimouſly agreed in ſending ambaſſadors to recal him, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. The perſons inveſted by the ſenate with this commiſſion were his own relations and friends, who therefore expected a very kind reception: but they were miſtaken. Being led through the enemy's camp, they found *Coriolanus* ſiting with inſupportable arrogance, encompaſſed by the principal men among the *Volſcians*. When ordering them publicly to declare the cauſe of their coming, they did ſo in the moſt modeſt and humble terms. His reply in relation to what concerned himſelf, was full of bitterneſs and reſentment, on account of the ill uſage he had received from the *Romans:* but in the character of general of the *Volſcians*, he required the reſtitution of the cities and towns they had taken from them in the late war, and that the ſame privi-

vileges ſhould be granted to the *Volſcians* at *Rome*, that had before been granted to the *Latins*, without which no peace ſhould be obtained. He gave them thirty days to conſider of theſe conditions, and on their retiring, decamped, and left the territories of *Rome*.

His thus retiring gave ſome of the *Volſcians*, who had long envied his reputation, the firſt handle to calumniate him. Among the number of his enemies was *Tullus* himſelf, who was ſecretly hurt at ſeeing his own glory thus totally obſcured by that of *Marcius*, while he himſelf was neglected. *Coriolanus*'s enemies now aſſembling together, encreaſed each other's indignation, ſaying, that this retreat was delivering up, not indeed their cities and arms, but the proper time and opportunity for action, on the obſervation or neglect of which every thing elſe neceſſarily depend. *Coriolanus*, however, did not remain idle, but attacking the confederates of the enemy, took from them in that interval, ſeven large and populous cities, while the *Romans*, who were entirely diſpirited, did not dare to venture out to their relief. The thirty days being expired, and *Marcius* appearing again with his whole army, another embaſſy was ſent, to beſeech him to moderate his diſpleaſure; to march off with the *Volſcians*, and then conſider what was proper to be done for the intereſt of both parties, remembering that the *Romans* would yield to nothing through fear; but that if he thought the *Volſcians* ſhould

ſhould have ſome favour ſhewn them on their laying down their arms, they might obtain all they could reaſonably deſire. *Coriolanus* replied, that as general of the *Volſcians*, he would make no anſwer; but as a *Roman* citizen, he would adviſe them to behave with leſs haughtineſs, and return before three days were expired, with the ratification of thoſe juſt demands he had formerly made; otherwiſe they ſhould not have the liberty of paſſing through his camp on ſuch idle errands.

The ambaſſadors having returned, and acquainted the ſenate with this reſolute anſwer, they perceiving the ſtate threatened with a tempeſt, and the waves ready to overwhelm them, publiſhed a decree, that the whole order of the prieſts, with thoſe who officiated in religious myſteries, together with the augurs, who from the early ages had practiſed the art of divination by birds, ſhould go in proceſſion, dreſſed in their proper habits, to entreat him to deſiſt from the war, and to confer with the *Romans* on the articles of peace. Theſe he alſo admitted into his camp, but without treating them with the more civility and reſpect, on account of the ſacredneſs of their character, he told them, that the *Romans* muſt either yield or fight; for the old terms were the only terms of peace.

The prieſts having alſo returned unſucceſsful, the *Romans*, placing their hopes only in the extraordinary accidents of time and fortune, reſolved to continue within the city to guard their walls, with the reſolution of

endeavouring to repulſe the enemy, ſhould he offer to attack them. They were unable to form any ſcheme for their deliverance, and the city was filled with terror, confuſion, and ill-boding reports. In this perplexed ſituation of their affairs, the women reſorted to the temples, and thoſe of the greateſt quality performed their devotions around the altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Among theſe was *Valeria*, ſiſter to *Poplicola*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the many eminent ſervices he had performed for the *Romans* *. *Poplicola* was now dead; but *Valeria* ſtill lived in great reputation at *Rome*, doing honour to her birth, which received an additional luſtre from her virtue. This lady being ſeized with a ſudden emotion, aroſe, and cauſing the reſt of the votaries alſo to ariſe, went with them to the houſe of *Volumnia* †, the mother of *Coriolanus*, whom ſhe found ſitting with his wife, and with her little grand-children on her lap. When *Valeria*, at the head of her companions, thus addreſſed them. "We, who now appear before you, O *Volumnia* and *Vergilia*, "come not by order of the ſenate, or of the "conſuls, but by the direction of the great "*Jupiter*, who moved by our prayers, has "inſpired us with the reſolution to viſit you, "and requeſt a favour, in which ours, and

* See the life of *Poplicola*, in vol. I. of this work.

† *Dionyſius* and *Livy* ſay, that his mother was called *Veturia*, and his wife *Volumnia*.

the

" the common ſafety is concerned. Your " conſent will raiſe your glory above that of " the daughters of the *Sabines*, who tranſ- " formed their fathers and their huſbands, " the mortal enemies of the *Romans*, into " their peaceful friends. Come then, and " join with us in our ſupplications to *Mar-* " *cius*, and bear this juſt teſtimony to your " country, that notwithſtanding the many " calamities ſhe has ſuffered, ſhe has never " injured, or ſhewn the leaſt reſentment to " you; but now reſtores you ſafe into his " hands."

This ſpeech being ſeconded by the loud approbation and entreaties of the other women, *Volumnia* anſwered: " Beſides the com- " mon calamities of our country, in which " we bear an equal ſhare with you, we have " afflictions peculiar to ourſelves; with our " own eyes we have beheld the downfall of " the fame and virtue of our *Coriolanus*; for " he is ſurrounded by the enemies of his " country, not as their priſoner; but as their " commander. But our greateſt diſtreſs ari- " ſes from our ſeeing *Rome* reduced ſo low as " to have her laſt dependance on us. For " how can we hope that he will ſhew the " leaſt regard to his wife and mother, when " he has loſt all regard to his country, which " once was dearer to him than his mother, " his wife, and his children. However, lead " us to *Coriolanus:* ſhould he be deaf to " our prayers, we can at leaſt die for our " country, and ſpend our laſt breath in ſuppli-

" cating

" cating him for its deliverance." Then taking *Vergilia* by the hand, and the young children, they accompanied the other women to the *Volſcian* camp.

Their enemies themſelves, ſtruck at the ſight of ſo extraordinary a proceſſion, ſtood in reſpectful ſilence. *Marcius* was ſeated on a tribunal, with his chief officers about him, when ſeeing them advance towards him, he was firſt at a loſs to conjecture who they were, and for what purpoſe they came; but ſoon perceiving his wife at the head of the proceſſion, he endeavoured to harden his heart, and retain his inflexibility; but overcame by affection, and ſtrangely diſordered at ſo unexpected a ſight, he could not bear to think that they ſhould approach him while he ſat in ſuch ſtate; but ſuddenly ſtarting up, he ran haſtily to meet them, and ſaluting his mother firſt, embraced her for a long time, and then his wife and children, giving full ſcope to his tears and careſſes, and ſuffering himſelf to be borne away, as it were, by the impetuous torrent of his affection. At length obſerving that his mother was deſirous of ſpeaking to him, he cauſed the *Volſcian* council to be aſſembled, and in their preſence ſhe addreſſed him to this purpoſe. " Though we, my ſon, " ſhould continue ſilent, thou mighteſt eaſily " conjecture, from our ſorrowful countenances " and dreſs, the forlorn condition in which " we have lived ſince thy baniſhment. We " are now moſt miſerable, ſince he who ought " to give us the greateſt delight, is, through

" I

" I know not what fatality, become moſt
" formidable and dreadful to us; for *Volum-*
" *nia* ſees her ſon, and *Vergilia* her huſband,
" before the walls of *Rome!* Even our pray-
" ers to the gods, from which others in
" all misfortunes, derive comfort and relief,
" add to our anxiety and diſtreſs; for we can-
" not at the ſame time offer up our ſupplica-
" tions to give victory to *Rome*, and for thy
" preſervation. What the worſt of our ene-
" mies would imprecate on us as a curſe, is
" interwoven and mingled with our prayers;
" for thy wife and children lie under the ne-
" ceſſity, either of loſing thee, or their na-
" tive country. As for myſelf, I am reſolved
" not to live till fortune puts a period to the
" war, and determines between the contend-
" ing parties. If I cannot prevail with thee
" to prefer peace and friendſhip to hoſtile en-
" mity, and to become a benefactor to both
" parties, rather than a plague to either, be
" aſſured that thou ſhalt not advance to aſ-
" ſault thy country, but by trampling on the
" dead body of her who gave thee birth: for
" I will not live to ſee the day of triumph,
" either for the overthrow of my ſon, or the
" deſtruction of *Rome*. Did I deſire thee to
" ſave thy country by ruining the *Volſcians*,
" the caſe, I confeſs, would be hard, and
" the choice difficult: for as it is unnatural
" to ſlaughter our fellow-citizens, it is like-
" wiſe unjuſt to betray thoſe who have placed
" their confidence in us. But, without do-
" ing the leaſt injury to others, we only de-

" ſire

" ſire a deliverance from our own evils; and " though this will be of equal advantage both " to them and to us, it will be moſt honour- " able to the *Volſcians*, who having ſo much " the advantage of us at preſent, will be " thought to beſtow peace and friendſhip, " the greateſt of all bleſſings, even when " they receive the ſame benefits at our hands. " If theſe are obtained, the merit of ſuch a " reconciliation will be chiefly thine: but if " they are refuſed, thou alone muſt bear the " blame from both nations. The events of " war are uncertain; but remember, that if " the *Volſcians* conquer, thou wilt have the " infamy of having ruined thy country; and " if thou art conquered, the world will ſay, " that to ſatisfy thy revenge, thou haſt been " the author of the greateſt miſery to thy " friends and benefactors."

Volumnia ceaſed ſpeaking, and *Marcius* continued in ſilent ſuſpence, which ſhe perceiving, at length reſumed, " O my ſon, why " art thou ſilent? Is it laudable to ſacrifice " ſo much to paſſion and reſentment? Can " it be leſs praiſe-worthy, in ſuch a cauſe as " this, to grant ſomething to the entreaties " of a mother? Doſt thou think it becomes " a noble mind to retain a ſenſe of injuries? " or canſt thou think it unworthy of a great " and good man to repay with reſpectful gra- " titude the obligations children owe to their " parents? Indeed thou art more obliged " than any other man to be grateful, ſince " thou puniſheſt ingratitude with ſuch ſeve- " rity;

CORIOLANVS softened by the entreaties of his Mother.

C.

" rity; fe
" thy cou
" and yet
" mother
" religion
" thee to
" alone c
" fource
ſelf at his
dren. O
" ther! v
from the
hand, "
" he, tha
" *mans*;
" by thee
ference w
vate, he,
Rome.

The ne
home the
ed of him
ſatisfied,
dued by f
ever obe
their adm
having no
to the *R*
had no ſo
had retire
all the
flowers,
with the

" rity; ſeverely haſt thou avenged thyſelf on " thy country for ſo ill repaying thy ſervices, " and yet the debt of gratitude due to thy " mother is left unpaid. The ſacred ties of " religion and nature, ſhould alone oblige " thee to grant my requeſt; but if words " alone cannot prevail, this is the only re- " ſource we have left." She then threw herſelf at his feet, as did alſo his wife and children. On which *Marcius* crying, " O mo- " ther! what have you done?" raiſed her from the ground, and tenderly preſſing her hand, " Thou haſt gained a conqueſt, ſaid " he, that will be of advantage to the *Ro-* " *mans*; but fatal to me. I go vanquiſhed " by thee alone." Then having a ſhort conference with his mother and wife in private, he, at their deſire, ſent them back to *Rome*.

The next morning he decamped, leading home the *Volſcians*, ſome of whom complained of him, while others, though equally diſſatisfied, thought him excuſable in being ſubdued by ſuch powerful ſolicitations: all however obediently followed him, rather from their admiration of his virtue, than their having now any regard to his authority. As to the *Romans*, thoſe who guarded the walls had no ſooner given notice that the *Volſcians* had retired, than they immediately ſet open all the temples, crowned themſelves with flowers, and offered ſacrifices, as was uſual with the citizens on their receiving the news

of

of a ſignal victory; and the ſenate and people, to ſhew their gratitude to the women, to whom they owed their deliverance, unanimouſly agreed in paſſing a decree, that whatever honour or emolument they ſhould require as a reward for their ſervice ſhould be granted them by the magiſtrates. But they only deſired that a temple might be erected to the *Fortune of Women*, the expence of which they themſelves offered to defray, the city being only at the charge of the ſacrifices and other religious ceremonies *. The ſenate, charmed with their generoſity, cauſed the temple to be erected, and a ſtatue to be placed in it at the public expence. Yet, notwithſtanding this, they made a contribution for another image of *Fortune*, which the *Romans* pretend, pronounced theſe words at the time of placing it in the temple, "O women! moſt acceptable to the gods is your piety and devotion in the preſent you have made of me." They alſo fabulouſly report, that the ſame words were a ſecond time pronounced. Such abſurd and incredible things do they relate.

On the return of *Marcius* to *Antium*, *Tullus*, who could no longer endure a man of whoſe authority he was afraid, reſolved to diſpatch him; and having therefore ſuborned ſeveral

* This temple was erected about four miles from *Rome*, on the very ſpot where *Coriolanus* was mollified by his mother.

perſons

perſons to appear againſt him, ordered *Marcius* to reſign his poſt, and give the *Volſcians* an account of his adminiſtration. But *Marcius* dreading the dangers of a private ſtation, if *Tullus* ſhould be made commander in chief, anſwered, That he was ready to lay down his commiſſion, whenever the *Volſcian* ſtates, from whom he had received it, ſhould think fit to command him; and in the mean time he was prepared to give the *Antiates* ſatisfaction, if they deſired it, with reſpect to any particulars of his conduct. An aſſembly being ſummoned, ſome perſons who were employed for that purpoſe, incenſed the people againſt him by their harangues; but *Marcius* ſtanding up to anſwer them, the moſt unruly and tumultuous, out of reverence to his perſon, grew ſuddenly calm and compoſed, and gave him free liberty to ſpeak. *Tullus* therefore beginning to dread the force of his oratory, and the gratitude of the *Volſcians* on account of his former ſervices, which exceeded their diſpleaſure for his late conduct, judged it prudent not to make any farther delays, or attempt to gain the ſuffrages of the people; the boldeſt of the faction therefore crying out, that they ought not to liſten to a traitor, ruſhed forwards and ſlew him, no one offering to defend him. But this baſe aſſaſſination was far from being approved by the majority of the *Volſcians*, who flocked from all their cities to ſhew their reſpect to his body, which they did by giving it an honourable inter-

ment *, adorning his ſepulchre with arms and trophies, as the monument of a noble hero, and celebrated general. But the *Romans* on hearing of his death, neither ſhewed the leaſt public mark of their eſteem or of their hatred, except granting the petition of the women, that they might put themſelves in mourning, and bewail him for ten months, as was cuſtomary on the deceaſe of a father, ſon, or brother; that being the time fixed for the longeſt mourning, by the laws of *Numa*.

Coriolanus was no ſooner murdered, than the *Volſcians* found their need of his aſſiſtance; and when it was too late wiſhed for him again: for quarrelling with the *Æqui*, their confederates and friends, on the nomination of a general to command their joint forces, the diſpute was at length carried to bloodſhed and ſlaughter on both ſides; and afterwards they were defeated by the *Romans* in a pitch-

* His dead body was dreſſed in the robes he had worn as general, and laid on a magnificent litter, borne on the ſhoulders of young officers diſtinguiſhed by their bravery. Before him were carried the ſpoils he had obtained, the crowns he had won, and plans of the cities he had taken. He was then laid on the pile, and ſeveral victims were ſacrificed The pile being conſumed, they took up his aſhes, and erected over them a magnificent monument to his memory.

ed battle, in which *Tullus* himſelf was ſlain, and the flower of his army cut to pieces; ſo that they were obliged to ſubmit, and to accept of peace on very diſhonourable terms, promiſing to obey the *Romans* in whatever they ſhould impoſe.

From this account of ſuch of the actions of *Alcibiades* and *Coriolanus* as appeared moſt worthy of remembrance, it is eaſily ſeen, that they gave equal proofs of their bravery and fortitude, their military conduct and capacity. While they had the chief command of the army, the affairs of their reſpective countries were proſperous; but immediately changed, on their going over to the enemy. With reſpect to their behaviour in point of government, the wiſe and virtuous diſliked that of *Alcibiades* as too licentious, too ſervile and flattering to the people; while the *Romans* hated that of *Coriolanus*, as being too haughty and auſtere: but if it be mean to ſeek for power by courting the favour of the populace; to purſue it by inſolence, cruelty and oppreſſion, is not only mean but unjuſt.

Alcibiades is juſtly reproached for the diſhoneſt artifice, by which he impoſed on the *Lacedæmonian* ambaſſadors, merely to involve the *Athenians* in a deſtructive war: *Coriolanus* was alſo guilty of an impoſture, when he exaſperated the *Romans* againſt the *Volſcians*, by ſending againſt the latter an infamous

piece of calumny, during the exhibition of the public games, to which ſome went as ſpectators: and what adds an additional guilt to this action, he was not, like *Alcibiades*, prompted to it by the inſtigations of ambition, and the heat of diſputes on government and politics; but merely to gratify his anger, and to gain an opportunity of ravaging large tracts in *Italy*, and of ſacrificing to the reſentment he had entertained againſt his country, many cities from which he had never received the leaſt injury.

Alcibiades, it muſt be allowed, inflicted many calamities on the *Athenians*; but on their repentance he grew cool; and though a ſecond time driven into exile, he could not patiently bear the blunders of the generals appointed to ſucceed him, or ſee with indifference the dangers to which they expoſed the fleet; but went in perſon to thoſe generals, whom he knew to be his enemies, ſhewed them their errors, and generouſly endeavoured to teach them how to ſecure their own ſafety. But, *Coriolanus* puniſhed the whole body of the people, though the beſt and moſt conſiderable of the citizens, compaſſionated his misfortunes: and by his inflexibility to the repeated embaſſies ſent to him to repair a ſingle injury, he ſhewed that he had the ruin of his country more at heart than his own re-eſtabliſhment.

It muſt be confeſſed, that if, without any regard to the *Volſcians*, he blew up the flame of

of war, merely to gratify his own ſpleen and reſentment; and having ſatisfied that, thought fit to put a period to the war, he ought not to have ſpared his country merely for the ſake of his mother, but to have ſpared it with her; ſince his mother and wife were only a part of the city he was beſieging; but to reject the public ſupplications, with the ſubmiſſion and petition of the prieſts and augurs, and afterwards to relent at the entreaties of his mother, was not to honour her, but to diſhonour his country, which he only ſaved from complaiſance to a woman, as if he thought it unworthy of being preſerved for its own ſake. So that this favour did not claim the thanks of either party. He neither retreated at the deſire of thoſe againſt whom he had engaged in the war, nor with the conſent of thoſe in whoſe behalf he had undertaken it. This proceeded from that auſterity of manners, that arrogance and inflexibility, which is always deteſted by the people, but when united by ambition, becomes ſavage and untractable; for thoſe poſſeſſed of theſe vices, diſdain to conciliate the favour of the populace, as if they were above aſpiring to honours and dignities; yet when theſe are denied them, became fired with an implacable reſentment. There have been ſome, indeed, who could not ſtoop to court the favour of the people by ſervile flattery, as *Epaminondas*, *Ariſtides*, and *Metellus*; but theſe great men had a thorough contempt for every thing the people could give or take

from them; and when they were repulſed, fined or baniſhed, never appeared enraged at the ingratitude of their fellow-citizens, but knew how to pardon, the moment the others confeſſed they had offended. He who will not condeſcend to flatter the people, ought never to entertain againſt them that furious ſpirit of revenge, which proceeds from exceſſive ambition. This was a blot in the character of *Coriolanus*, that deſtroyed all his virtues. But with reſpect to temperance, and a contempt of riches, he may be compared with the moſt illuſtrious examples of *Greece:* here then he is to be preferred to *Alcibiades*, who was the moſt profligate of men, and violated all the obligations of decency and honour.

THE

LIFE

OF

TIMOLEON.

THE father and mother of *Timoleon* were both of noble rank in the city of *Corinth* *: but he was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his love for his country; for the engaging mildneſs of his diſpoſition, and his extreme hatred

* *Corinth*, now called *Gereme*, is ſituated in a part of *Turky* in *Europe*, near the iſthmus between the gulphs of *Lepanto* and *Engia*, about ſixty miles to the north of *Sparta*, and fifty to the weſt of *Athens*. The buildings are at preſent

hatred to tyrants and wicked men: beſides his natural abilities for war were ſo happily tempered, that as an extraordinary prudence was viſible in all the enterprizes of his younger years, he was endued with an intrepid courage even in his declining age.

Timoleon had an elder brother named *Timophanes*, who was of a very different character, he being raſh, indiſcreet, and ambitious: in war he was impetuous and daring; by which he gained the favour of the people, who had ſuch an eſteem for him, on account of his activity and courage, that they frequently gave him the command of the army; and in acquiring that honour, he was always aſſiſted by *Timoleon*, who concealed, or at leaſt extenuated his faults, and took every opportunity to extol his good qualities. Once in a battle between the *Corinthians* and the

ſent intermixed with fields and gardens, which give it the appearance of a village. The caſtle is ſituated on a high ſteep rock of difficult acceſs, and affords a very fine proſpect to the north and ſouth of a delightful country abounding in corn, vines, and olives, and of the ſea to the eaſt and weſt. The narroweſt part of the iſthmus is about ſix miles over, and has a mount called *Oneius*, on which were anciently celebrated the Iſthmian games, and upon it are ſtill the ruins of a town, and of temples dedicated to *Apollo*, *Neptune*, *Pluto*, *Diana*, *Bacchus* and *Ceres*. Moſt of the inhabitants of *Corinth* are Chriſtians, and that city is now the ſee of a *Grecian* archbiſhop.

people

people of *Argos* and *Cleone*, *Timoleon* ſerved among the infantry, when *Timophanes*, who commanded their cavalry, having his horſe wounded, was thrown amidſt the enemy, upon which part of his companions inſtantly diſperſed through fear, and the few that ſtood their ground, bearing up againſt a great multitude, were hardly able to maintain the fight; but *Timoleon* ſeeing his brother's danger, ran haſtily to his reſcue, and covering the fallen *Timophanes* with his buckler, after receiving abundance of darts, and ſeveral wounds from the ſwords of the enemy, at length with great difficulty obliged them to retire, and ſafely brought him off.

Soon after the *Corinthians*, from the fear of their being again deprived of their city, which they had once before loſt by means of their allies, entertained four hundred foreign ſoldiers for its ſecurity, the command of whom they gave to *Timophanes*; but he, in ſpite of all the obligations of honour and equity, made uſe of this power to render himſelf abſolute; for which purpoſe he cut off many of the principal citizens without the form of a trial, and declared himſelf king of *Corinth*. At this *Timoleon* was extremely afflicted; he ſtrove to perſuade him to renounce his mad and deſperate deſigns, and to recollect by what means he might make the *Corinthians* ſome amends for the injury he had done them. But his admonitions being rejected with contempt, he waited a few days, and then returned with the brother of *Timophanes*'s

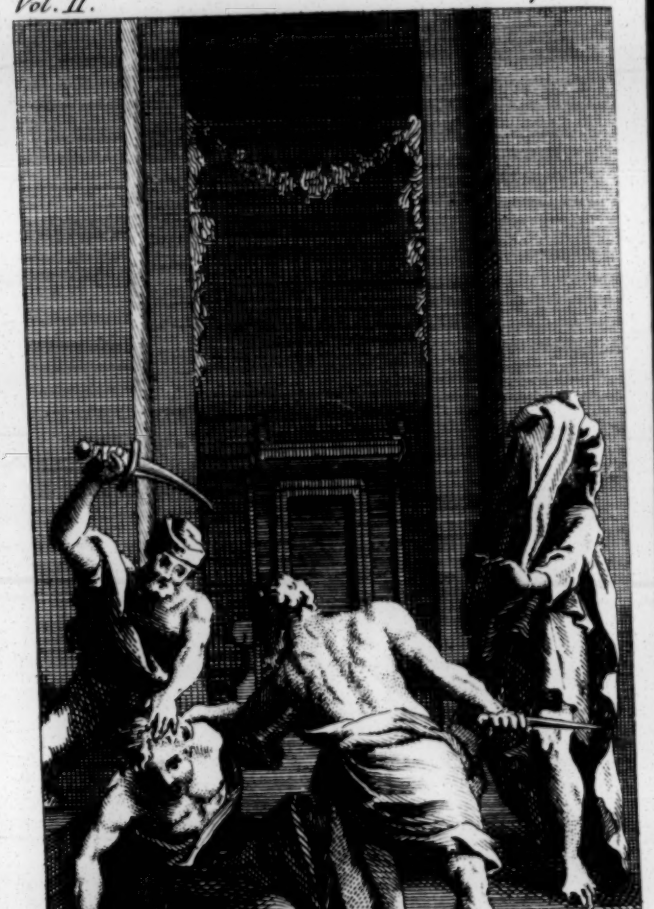
phanes's wife, and a ſoothſayer his friend, all of whom ſurrounding him, earneſtly entreated that he would liſten to reaſon, and change his purpoſe. At firſt *Timophanes* laughed at them, and afterwards flew into a violent rage. On which *Timoleon* ſtepping aſide, ſtood weeping, with his face covered, while the two others, drawing their ſwords, inſtantly killed the tyrant.

This action was ſoon publicly known, when the principal perſons of the city applauded *Timoleon*, and highly extolled that greatneſs of ſoul, which, notwithſtanding the natural gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, and his affection to his brother, made him think his obligations to his country ſtronger than all the ties of blood: for the ſame brother whom he had ſo bravely ſaved when fighting for his country, he now as nobly ſacrificed for enſlaving her by his baſe and treacherous uſurpation: but thoſe who had been uſed to make their court to men in power, notwithſtanding their pretending to rejoice at the death of the tyrant, ſecretly reviled *Timoleon*, as one who had committed an action that was moſt impious and abominable. His mother alſo uttering the bittereſt and moſt terrible imprecations againſt him, he went to ſatisfy and comfort her, but refuſing to ſee him, ſhe cauſed her doors to be ſhut againſt him. This threw *Timoleon* into ſo deep an affliction, that he reſolved to put an end to his life, by abſtaining from all food; but by the care of his friends

who

end, all
entreat-
l change
ughed at
ent rage.
od weep-
the two
ly killed

vn, when
oplauded
greatneſs
natural
affection
s obliga-
l the tie
m he had
his coun-
enſlaving
urpation
ake their
ling their
f the ty-
one who
moſt im-
r alſo ut-
impreca
and com
he cauſe
This three
hat he re
abſtaining
is friend
wh



TIMOLEON sacrifices his Brother to the Liberty of his Country.

who never left him, and added force to their intreaties, he at laſt promiſed to live, provided it might be in ſolitude; and quitting all buſineſs, and intercourſe with the world, he for a long time never came to *Corinth*; but full of tormenting thoughts ſpent his time in the moſt deſert and unfrequented places. Thus are our judgments and reſolutions changed by the commendation or reproof of others, unleſs they are confirmed by reaſon and philoſophy, which give ſtrength and ſteadineſs to our undertakings; for an action muſt not only be in its own nature juſt and laudable, but it muſt proceed from ſolid motives, and a laſting principle, that it may fully and conſtantly meet with our approbation: otherwiſe when we have executed any deſign, we may, through our own weakneſs, be filled with ſorrow and remorſe, while the ſplendid ideas of honour and virtue, that at firſt accompanied the action, may entirely vaniſh. But whether *Timoleon*'s dejection aroſe from a deep compaſſion of his brother's fate, or the reverence he bore his mother, it ſo diſordered his mind, that for almoſt twenty years he did not concern himſelf in any public affairs.

It is now proper to ſay ſomething of the affairs of the *Syracuſans*, before *Timoleon* was ſent to *Sicily*. *Dion* having driven out *Dionyſius* the tyrant, and being afterwards treacherouſly murdered, thoſe who had aſſiſted him in delivering *Syracuſe* were divided among themſelves, and the city, by a continual change of governors, and a train of misfortunes, was rendered

rendered almoſt deſolate. With reſpect to the reſt of *Sicily*, part of it was entirely ruined by war, and moſt of the cities that had been left ſtanding were in the poſſeſſion of a mixture of barbarians and mercenary troops, that were fond of every change of government. While things were in this ſituation, *Dionyſius*, in the tenth year of his baniſhment, being aſſiſted by ſome foreign troops, drove out *Nyſæus*, then maſter of *Syracuſe*, and again took poſſeſſion of his dominions, and from being an exile, became the ſovereign of thoſe who had ejected him. All therefore who remained in *Syracuſe* were obliged to be ſubject to a tyrant, who was at beſt of an ungentle diſpoſition, that was rendered ſtill more ſavage by his late misfortunes. But the better ſort of the people having in time retired to *Icetes*, prince of the *Leontines*, choſe him for their general in the war, on account of his being of a *Syracuſan* family, and having an army capable of oppoſing that of *Dionyſius*.

In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, deſirous of taking advantage of the calamities and diſorders of that iſland, appeared before it with a numerous fleet; on which the *Sicilians* ſent an embaſſy to demand ſuccours from the *Corinthians*, on whom they confided, both on account of their near kindred, and the ſervices they had frequently received from them; for *Corinth* had always ſhewn herſelf a foe to tyranny, by the many expenſive wars in which ſhe had engaged, in order to maintain the liberty of *Greece*. But *Icetes*, whoſe intention

in accepting the command, was to deliver the *Syracuſans* from other tyrants, in order to enſlave them himſelf, carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the *Carthaginians*, while publicly commending the deſign of the *Syracuſans*, he diſpatched ambaſſadors from himſelf, with thoſe they ſent into *Peloponneſus*: not that he deſired any relief from them; for he hoped that if they refuſed their aſſiſtance, he ſhould be able, with the leſs difficulty, to make uſe of the *Carthaginians* as auxiliaries, either againſt the *Syracuſans*, or *Dionyſius*, as occaſions offered.

On the arrival of the ambaſſadors, the *Corinthians*, who had a particular concern for all their colonies, and eſpecially for that of *Syracuſe*, readily paſſed a vote for their aſſiſtance. But while the magiſtrates were nominating ſeveral perſons, from among whom a general might be choſen for that expedition, one of the plebeians ſtanding up, named *Timoleon*, who had ſo long laid aſide all thoughts of public affairs, and had neither any hopes, nor any inclination to an employment of that nature; but upon this motion, he was choſen general by the joyful ſuffrages of the people. *Teleclides*, a perſon of the greateſt power and reputation in *Corinth*, then riſing up, exhorted him to behave on this occaſion with reſolution and integrity. "If you now behave "well, ſaid he, we ſhall conſider you as the "deſtroyer of a tyrant; if not, you will be "eſteemed the murderer of your brother." While preparations were making for this ex-

pedition, the *Corinthians* received letters that plainly diſcovered the treachery of *Icetes*; for they found that his ambaſſadors had no ſooner ſet out for *Corinth*, than he openly joined the *Carthaginians*; and he himſelf wrote, that they need not run the hazard of a *Sicilian* expedition, ſince the *Carthaginians* with a numerous fleet lay in wait to attack them, and had already engaged to lend him all neceſſary aſſiſtance againſt *Dionyſius*. This letter being publicly read, filled the *Corinthians* with indignation againſt *Icetes*, and made them willingly contribute to ſupply *Timoleon*, and haſten his departure.

When the fleet was ready to ſail, the prieſteſſes of *Proſerpine* had a dream, in which they ſaw that goddeſs and her mother *Ceres* in travelling garb, who told them, that they would ſail with *Timoleon* to *Sicily*; upon which the *Corinthians* built a ſacred veſſel, which they named *the galley of the goddeſſes*. And *Timoleon* going to *Delphi*, where he ſacrificed to *Apollo*, went into the place of prophecy, when a wreath, embroidered with crowns and images of victory, ſlipt from the gifts that were hung up, and fell upon his head, ſo that he already ſeemed crowned by *Apollo*.

He ſet ſail by night, with only ſeven *Corinthian* ſhips, two of *Corcyra*, and one ſurniſhed by the *Leucadians*; when, proceeding with a proſperous gale, the heavens ſeemed ſuddenly to open, and a bright ſpreading flame iſſuing from the diviſion, hovered ov

Timoleon's ſhip, and forming itſelf into a torch *, kept the ſame courſe, guiding them to that part of *Italy* to which they deſigned to ſteer. The army, encouraged by theſe teſtimonies of the divine favour, made all the ſail they were able, and ſoon landed on the coaſt of *Italy*; but the news they there learnt from *Sicily* perplexed *Timoleon*, and diſcouraged his ſoldiers; for *Icetes* having already defeated *Dionyſius*, and taken the greateſt part of the city of *Syracuſe*, was beſieging him in the citadel, and that part called the iſle; while it was agreed, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould hinder *Timoleon* from landing. With this deſign the *Carthaginians* ſent twenty galleys to *Rhegium* †, on board of which were ambaſſadors from *Icetes* to *Timoleon*, who were ordered to propoſe his coming, if he choſe it, to adviſe with *Icetes*, and partake of all his conqueſts; but that he muſt ſend back his ſhips and forces to *Corinth*, as the *Carthagi-*

* The life of *Timoleon* is full of theſe pretended prodigies; and *Plutarch* probably compiled it from an author, who thought to do honour to his hero by relating theſe idle fictions, the preſages of victories, doubtleſs invented after thoſe victories were obtained.

† *Rhegium* was a city of *Italy*, inhabited by Gr ſro colony, and ſituated at a ſmall diſtance ſen m the northern coaſt of *Sicily*. It is pre t a ſmall city in the kingdom of *Naples*.

nians had reſolved to prevent his landing his troops in *Sicily*.

The *Corinthians* meeting with theſe envoys at *Rhegium*, became deeply ſenſible of the perfidy of *Icetes*, and of their own danger, it ſeeming impoſſible for them to overpower the *Carthaginian* fleet that lay before them, and were double their number; and alſo to defeat the troops of *Icetes*, when joined with the *Carthaginian* forces. *Timoleon*, after diſcourſing with the ambaſſadors of *Icetes*, and the *Carthaginian* captains, promiſed to ſubmit to their propoſals, on condition that before his return to *Corinth*, what paſſed between them in private, might be ratified before the people of *Rhegium*, a *Grecian* city, and a common friend to both parties. But this was only deſigned to amuſe them, while he got an opportunity of ſlipping by their fleet: a deſign which the principal *Rhegians* were privy to; they being very deſirous, that the affairs of *Sicily* ſhould be conducted by the *Corinthians*; but dreaded the conſequence of a *Punic* neighbourhood. An aſſembly being therefore ſummoned, and the gates ſhut, they made very long harangues, purpoſely prolonging the time, that the *Corinthian* ſhips might get clear of the harbour; the *Carthaginian* commanders, who were detained there having not the leaſt ſuſpicion, becauſe *Timoleon* was ſtill preſent, and ſeemed juſt preparing to make an oration: but he being informed in a whiſper, that the reſt of the veſſels were gone, and that his waited for him

he, by
ſurround
through
ſpeedily
veſſels,
Tauromen
kind rec
verning
juſtice, a
all tyrant
city a pla
citizens t
attempt
The *C*
on the br
moleon ha
they had
were high
complain
immediate
one of th
after a lon
out his h
then turni
" Thus ſh
" unleſs th
" *rinthians*
replied, by
ing it as th
depart inſta

* The *Ca*
of *Phœnicia*
cheats in the

he, by the aſſiſtance of the *Rhegians*, who ſurrounded the roſtrum, ſlipped unobſerved through the crowd, and haſting to the port, ſpeedily ſet ſail, when reaching his other veſſels, he and his troops landed ſafely at *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, where they met with a kind reception from *Andromachus*, who, governing the citizens according to law and juſtice, and openly profeſſing an averſion to all tyrants, gave *Timoleon* leave to make that city a place of arms, and even perſuaded the citizens to join the *Corinthian* forces in their attempt to deliver *Sicily*.

The *Carthaginians* in *Rhegium* perceiving, on the breaking up of the aſſembly, that *Timoleon* had eſcaped, were vexed at finding they had been outwitted, and the *Rhegians* were highly diverted at hearing *Phœnicians** complain of fraud and treachery. But they immediately diſpatched an officer on board one of their galleys to *Tauromenium*, who after a long and inſolent diſcourſe, ſtretched out his hand with the palm upwards, and then turning it down, cried to *Andromachus*, "Thus ſhall thy city be turned upſide down, "unleſs thou do'ſt inſtantly diſmiſs the *Co-* "*rinthians*." But *Andromachus* laughing, only replied, by ſtretching out his hand, and turning it as the other had done, adviſing him to depart inſtantly, unleſs he had a mind to ſee his

* The *Carthaginians* were originally a colony of *Phœnicians*, who were reckoned the greateſt cheats in the world.

ſhip turned upſide down in the ſame manner.

Icetes, being informed that *Timoleon* was ſafely landed, immediately ſent for a conſiderable number of *Carthaginian* galleys; on which the *Syracuſans* began to deſpair; for *Icetes* was maſter of the city, *Dionyſius* commanded in the fortreſs, and the *Carthaginians* were in poſſeſſion of the haven, while *Timoleon* had yet only a thouſand *Corinthian* ſoldiers, and none of the other towns in *Sicily* dared to confide in him. They were exaſperated againſt all commanders in general, principally on the account of the treachery of *Pharax* a *Spartan*, and *Calippus* an *Athenian*; who, pretending to reſtore their liberties, and depoſe tyrants, had themſelves tyrannized in ſuch a manner, that the reign of their former oppreſſors ſeemed a golden age: therefore, imagining that the ſame artifices were now employed to allure them by hopes and promiſes to the obedience of a new tyrant, all except the people of *Adranum*, refuſed to comply with the propoſals made them in *Timoleon*'s name.

Adranum was a ſmall city conſecrated to *Adranus*, a god held in great veneration throughout all *Sicily*: and the inhabitants being at variance among themſelves, one party called in *Icetes* and the *Carthaginians* to their aſſiſtance; while the other ſent to invite *Timoleon* to eſpouſe their quarrel. Both theſe auxiliaries were deſirous of being there firſt: *Icetes* marched with five thouſand fight-

ing men;
was abov
only twel
only a ſhc
ing his pa
vice, that
was encar
ceiving th
the vangu
being refr
poſe, mig
greater ala
deſired the
poſſible ha
enemy, wh
diſorder, e
per. Imm
placing hir
as to a cert
in thirty fu
arrived the
who were
at their firſt
about three
number tak
all their ba
The *Adranit*
embraced
neighbouri
friendſhip,
Among the
tana, a wea
military tal
with him;

ing men; and *Timoleon* left *Tauromenium*, which was above forty miles from that city, with only twelve hundred. The firſt day he made only a ſhort march; but afterwards quickening his pace, he towards evening received advice, that *Icetes* had juſt got to *Adranum*, and was encamping before the city. Upon receiving this intelligence, his officers ordered the vanguard to halt, that the army, after being refreſhed, and having taken ſome repoſe, might engage the enemy with the greater alacrity. When *Timoleon* coming up, deſired them not to ſtop, but to make all poſſible haſte, that they might ſurprize the enemy, whom they would probably find in diſorder, erecting tents, and preparing for ſupper. Immediately taking his buckler, and placing himſelf in the front, he led them on as to a certain victory. They were then within thirty furlongs of *Adranum*; and no ſooner arrived there, than they fell upon the enemy, who were in confuſion, and began to retire at their firſt approach, ſo that there were only about three hundred ſlain, and twice that number taken priſoners; but their camp, and all their baggage fell into *Timolen*'s hands. The *Adranites* immediately opening their gates, embraced *Timoleon*'s intereſt; and now all the neighbouring cities ſent deputies to deſire his friendſhip, and to offer him their ſervice. Among the reſt, *Mamercus*, the tyrant of *Catana*, a wealthy prince, diſtinguiſhed by his military talents, entered into an alliance with him; and, what was of ſtill greater impor-

importance, *Dionyſius* himſelf, being now grown deſperate, and admiring the bravery of *Timoleon*, ſent him a propoſal to deliver up himſelf and the citadel into the hands of the *Corinthians*. *Timoleon* gladly embraced this unexpected advantage, and ſent *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, two *Corinthian* captains, with four hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of the citadel; with directions to enter it privately, and in ſmall parties, leſt they ſhould be oppoſed by the enemy who guarded the haven. They thus took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs, and of the palace of *Dionyſius*, with all the ſtores and ammunition he had laid up for the war: they found in it a conſiderable number of horſes, all ſorts of engines, and a vaſt quantity of darts, with arms ſufficient for ſeventy thouſand men, beſides two thouſand ſoldiers, whom the tyrant ſurrendered with every thing elſe to *Timoleon*. Then taking ſome of his treaſure, he ſet ſail with a few of his friends, without the knowledge of *Icetes*, and arrived at *Timoleon*'s camp, where he appeared in the habit of a private perſon; and he, who was born and educated in a ſplendid court, and the moſt abſolute monarchy, was ſoon after ſent in a ſingle ſhip to *Corinth*. He had held the government ten years before *Dion* took arms againſt him, and had ſpent twelve more in a perpetual ſtate of war, with great viciſſitudes of fortune. The miſchiefs he had occaſioned during his reign were ſufficiently puniſhed by the calamities he had ſuffered; for he had lived to ſee his ſons die in the prime

prime and vigour of their age; his daughters defloured, and his own ſiſter, who was alſo his wife, expoſed to the luſt of his enemies, then murdered with her children, and caſt into the ſea *.

On its being known that *Dionyſius* had landed at *Corinth*, there was ſcarcely a man in *Greece* who had not the curioſity to come and view the late formidable tyrant. Some rejoicing at his misfortunes, were led thither from mere malignity, to have the pleaſure of ſeeing him thus reduced; while others, touched with compaſſion at the ſight of ſo affecting a change, conſidered it as a manifeſt proof of the influence which a divine and inviſible power has on the fluctuating affairs of mortals: for neither nature nor art had produced any thing ſo extraordinary as this wonderful turn of fortune, which ſhewed the ſame man, who had been ſupreme monarch of *Sicily*, converſing in the market, ſitting whole days in a perfumer's ſhop, drinking in taverns, quarrelling in the ſtreet with loud women, or ſeriouſly diſputing with them on the meaſure and harmony of the airs ſung in the theatre. This behaviour met with different cenſures; ſome imagining that he acted thus

* See the life of *Dion*. *Philip* king of *Macedon*, ſome time after this event, writing in very haughty and menacing terms to the *Lacedæmonians*, they made him no other anſwer, but *Dionyſius at Corinth*.

in

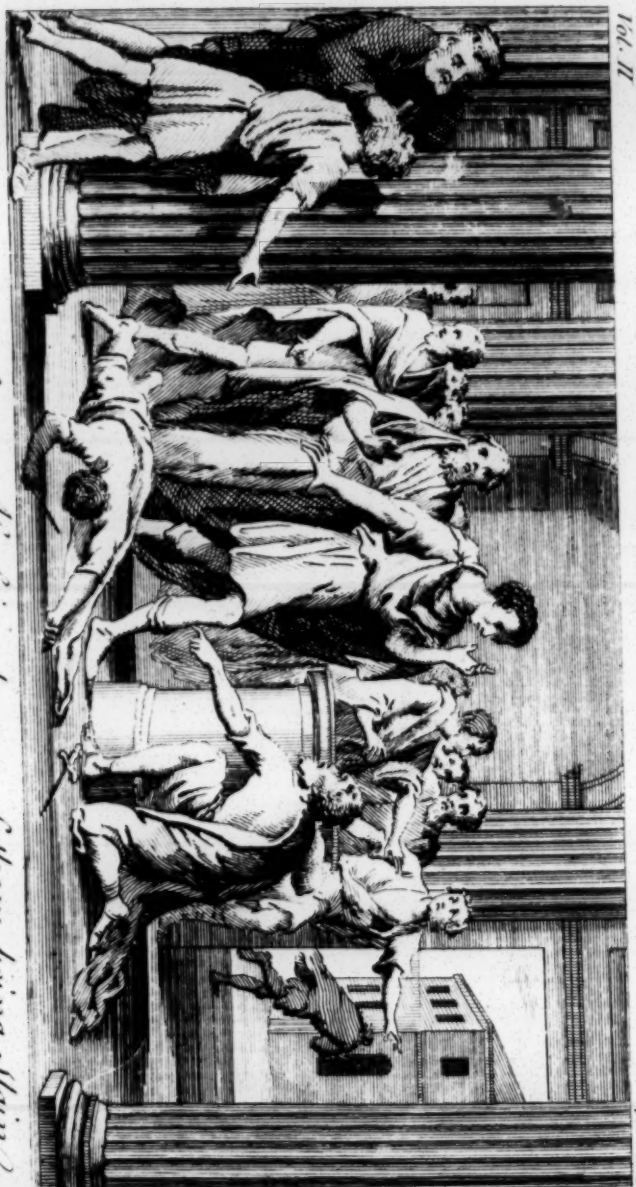
in compliance with his own inclinations; while others thought it proceeded from his reſolution to remove all dread or ſuſpicion of his being unable to bear his extraordinary change of fortune, and his having any ſecret deſigns againſt the ſtate. However, ſome of his ſayings ſtill left upon record, ſhew that he did not want the fortitude neceſſary to accommodate himſelf to his preſent circumſtances. When a ſtranger at *Corinth* derided him in a rude and ſcornful manner, for the conferences he had held with philoſophers, with whoſe company he had been delighted while a monarch; and aſked, what he was now the better for the wiſe diſcourſes of *Plato?* he anſwered, "Do'ſt thou think I have made no advantage "of his philoſophy, when thou ſeeſt me bear "this change of fortune with ſuch an even "temper?" When *Ariſtoxenus* the muſician, and ſeveral others, deſired to know by what means he became diſpleaſed at *Plato*, he told him, "that the condition of ſovereign princes "was attended with many misfortunes, and "particularly with this, the greateſt of all "infelicities, that none of thoſe they eſteem-"ed their friends, would venture to ſpeak "freely, or tell them the truth; and to that "he owed his being deprived of *Plato*'s "friendſhip." Once, when *Philip* of *Macedon* and he were drinking together, the former began to talk in an ironical manner of the verſes and tragedies which *Dionyſius* the Elder had left behind him, and expreſſed his wonder, that he could ſpare time from his other

other buſineſs for works of that kind, *Dionyſius* replied, "He uſed to ſpend that time in "writing, which ſuch clever fellows as you "and I ſpend in getting drunk." *Diogenes*, on their firſt meeting in the ſtreets of *Sinope*, cried, "O *Dionyſius!* how little do'ſt thou "deſerve to live thus!" Upon which *Dionyſius* ſtopping, replied, "I am much obliged "to thee, *Diogenes*, for thy concern for my "misfortunes." "Doſt thou imagine then, (ſaid *Diogenes*) that I condole with thee for "what has happened? I am rather vexed, "that ſuch a ſlave as thou, who deſerved to "be let alone to grow old, and die, like thy "father, in the wretched ſtate of tyranny, "ſhould now enjoy the quiet and eaſe of a "private perſon, and be here at liberty to "ſport and frolic in our ſociety."

Strange and extraordinary as the fate of *Dionyſius* appears, the good fortune of *Timoleon* is no leſs worthy of admiration, as within 15 days after his landing in *Sicily*, he both recovered the citadel of *Syracuſe*, and ſent *Dionyſius* to *Corinth*. The *Corinthians* were ſo animated by this fortunate beginning, that they ſent him a ſupply of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, who arriving at *Thurium*, intended to croſs over from thence into *Sicily*; but finding the ſea covered with *Carthaginian* ſhips, which rendered the paſſage impracticable, they were conſtrained to wait there for a more favourable opportunity. Their time was, however, nobly employed; for the *Thurians* marching againſt the *Brutians*,

tians, left their city to the care of theſe *Corinthian* ſtrangers, who defended it with as much fidelity as if it had been their native place.

In the mean time *Icetes* continued the ſiege of the citadel, and prevented its receiving proviſions by ſea. He alſo hired two perſons to aſſaſſinate *Timoleon*, who was at *Adranum*, where he had no guard, converſing with the citizens without the leaſt fear or ſuſpicion. The villains intruſted with this infamous commiſſion, hearing that *Timoleon* was going to offer ſacrifice, went into the temple with poniards under their cloaks, and preſſing through the crowd by little and little, got up cloſe to the altar; but, as they were looking for a ſign from each other to begin the attempt, a third perſon killed one of them, by ſtriking him on the head with a ſword, and then fled, while the other, laying hold of the altar, begged *Timoleon* to ſpare his life, promiſing to reveal the whole conſpiracy; and, his pardon being granted, he confeſſed, that both himſelf, and his deceaſed companion, were ſent thither to murder him. While this diſcovery was making, the perſon who had killed the other conſpirator, was brought back, and loudly proteſted, that he had done nothing unjuſt, as he had only taken righteous vengeance for his father's blood, of a man who had baſely murdered him in the city of *Leontium*; for the truth of which he appealed to ſeveral who were preſent. Theſe atteſted the fact, and all were ſtruck with admiration



Vol. II

p. 168

TIMOLEON saved from a Assassins by one of them being Slain.

miration
the most d
no relatio
regular se
ther. T
with ten
had co-op
Timoleon,
cution of
secure the
This ha
effects; f
people no
leon as a
gods to re
became in
Icetes, hav
assassins,
men defe
himself fo
ing the *Ca*
derable fo
sent for *M*
fleet, wh
fifty vesse
seized the
foot, took
now beca
The citad
ger; for t
provisions
guarded a
tinually h
obliged,

miration at the ſurpriſing manner in which the moſt diſtant incidents, that ſeem to have no relation to each other, are made to form a regular ſeries of events cloſely linked together. The *Corinthians* rewarded the man with ten *minæ*, becauſe his juſt indignation had co-operated with the guardian genius of *Timoleon*, and *Fortune* had reſerved the execution of his revenge, till it was neceſſary to ſecure the life of their general.

This happy eſcape had very extraordinary effects; for the *Coninthians*, ſeeing that the people now reverenced and protected *Timoleon* as a ſacred perſon, and one ſent by the gods to redeem *Sicily* from a ſtate of ſlavery, became inſpired with the higheſt expectations. *Icetes*, having miſſed of his aim in employing aſſaſſins, and perceiving that many of his men deſerted to *Timoleon*, began to reproach himſelf for uſing ſo much caution in employing the *Carthaginians*, when they had a conſiderable force at his command: he therefore ſent for *Mago*, their admiral, with his whole fleet, which conſiſted of one hundred and fifty veſſels; on which that *Carthaginian* ſeized the port, and landing ſixty thouſand foot, took up his quarters in the city, which now became the camp of thoſe Barbarians. The citadel was at this time in extreme danger; for the garriſon began to be in want of proviſions, becauſe the haven was ſtrictly guarded and blocked up; beſides being continually harraſſed by the enemy, they were obliged, both to divide themſelves, to be

prepared for all kinds of aſſaults, and to prevent the effects of all the machines and battering engines uſed in ſieges. However, *Timoleon* found means to relieve them, by ſending corn from *Catana* in ſmall fiſhing boats, which, taking the advantage of the tempeſtuous weather, paſſed by the *Carthaginian* galleys, when they were diſperſed by ſtorms. This being obſerved by *Icetes* and *Mago*, they agreed to attack *Catana*, from whence theſe ſupplies were brought; and accordingly they ſailed from *Syracuſe*, with the choiceſt part of their army. When *Leo*, a *Corinthian*, who had the command of the citadel, obſerving, that thoſe who had been left behind were negligent in keeping guard, made a ſudden ſally while they were diſperſed; when killing ſome, and putting the reſt to flight, he took poſſeſſion of the quarter called *Achradina*, which was eſteemed the ſtrongeſt part of the city, and had ſuffered leaſt from the enemy. By this means he obtained plenty of corn and money; and, being unwilling to abandon this valuable acquiſition, he fortified it, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication. *Icetes* and *Mago* were now near *Catana*, when a horſeman *, diſpatched from *Syracuſe*,

* It may appear ſomewhat extraordinary, that a horſeman ſhould be ſent to give information to a fleet of ſhips in a voyage at ſea: but it muſt be conſidered, that in ſailing, they did not

Syracuſe, informed them, that *Achradina* was taken; upon which they ſailed back in great haſte and confuſion, without being able to reduce the city they went to attack, or to preſerve that they had before in their poſſeſſion.

About this time the *Corinthian* ſoldiers, who ſtaid at *Thurium*, through fear of the *Carthaginian* galleys, that lay in wait for them under the command of *Hanno*, marched by land to the city of *Rhegium*, where they found the ſea ſtill rough and ſtormy: but *Hanno*, not imagining the *Corinthians* would venture out, and thinking it would be in vain to wait longer, reſolved on a ſtratagem, which he believed might diſcourage the *Corinthians* at *Syracuſe*: he ordered his ſeamen to crown themſelves with garlands, and adorning his galleys with bucklers, both of the *Greek* and *Punic* form, ſailed to *Syracuſe*, and rowing up to the citadel with laughter and loud ſhouts, cauſed proclamation to be made, that he had juſt vanquiſhed the *Corinthian* ſuccours as they were paſſing over into *Sicily*. But, while he was employed in theſe trifling artifices, the *Corinthians*, who had reached *Rhegium*, perceiving the coaſt clear, and the wind ſuddenly laid, went on board ſuch ſmall barks

not uſually dare to venture out of the ſight of land, and therefore followed all the doublings and windings of the coaſt, and were ſeldom ſo far from it, as not to hear a perſon calling from the ſhore.

and fiſhing-boats as were at hand, and got over to *Sicily*. When they were all landed, *Timoleon* went to them, and by their means took *Meſſina*, from whence he marched to *Syracuſe*, at the head of about four thouſand men. *Mago* was terrified at the firſt news of his coming, and the following circumſtance increaſed his apprehenſions.

The marſhes of *Syracuſe* abound with eels, which may be always caught in great quantities by any that will fiſh for them; and, at that time, the mercenary ſoldiers on both ſides, uſed to follow that ſport together at their vacant hours. As theſe were all *Grecks*, and had no cauſe of private enmity to each other, they would fight with great bravery; and, in time of truce, meet and converſe amicably together. One day, as they happened to be employed about the common buſineſs of fiſhing, they fell into various diſcourſes, particularly on the commodious ſituation of the adjacent places; which gave a hint to one of the *Corinthians* to addreſs himſelf to the others to this purpoſe: "Is it "poſſible that you, who are *Grecians* by "birth, ſhould be ſo forward to reduce a "city ſo large, and that enjoys ſo many ad- "vantages, to a ſtate of barbariſm; and "uſe your utmoſt endeavours to plant *Car- "thaginians*, the worſt and bloodieſt of men, "ſo near to us? You ought rather to wiſh "that more *Sicilies* lay between us and "*Greece*. Or can you believe, that they "come hither with an army from the *pillars*

" *of Hercules* *, and the *Atlantic* ocean, for " the ſake of eſtabliſhing *Icetes*; who, if he " had the prudence neceſſary to a general, " would never have driven out the deſcen- " dants of his anceſtors, to bring in the ene- " mies of his country in their room, when he " might have enjoyed a juſt honour and com- " mand with the conſent of *Timoleon* and the " *Corinthians*."

The *Greeks* in *Icetes*'s pay repeating theſe diſcourſes in the camp, gave *Mago*, who had long ſought for a pretence to be gone, cauſe to ſuſpect, that ſome treachery was contriving againſt him; and therefore, in ſpite of the entreaties of *Icetes* to ſtay, he ſailed with his fleet to *Africa*. *Icetes* however reſolved ſtill to keep his ground, and the poſſeſſion of thoſe parts of the city he ſtill commanded, as they were well fortified, and not eaſily to be taken. But *Timoleon* dividing his forces, attacked *Icetes*'s quarter in three places at once, when the ſoldiers of *Icetes* being put to flight, the city was taken by ſtorm; but what is moſt extraordinary, *Timoleon* is ſaid to have obtained this great advantage without the loſs of a ſingle man.

Timoleon, being now maſter of *Syracuſe*, avoided the error *Dion* had before committed; for he did not ſpare the citadel on account of

* Theſe are mount *Calpe*, by *Gibraltar*, on the *European* ſide, and mount *Avila* on the *African* ſide of the Streights of *Gibraltar*.

the beauty and magnificence of that ſtructure; but gave notice by a public crier, That all the *Syracuſans* who were willing to have a hand in demoliſhing that fortreſs of tyranny, ſhould bring proper inſtruments to accompliſh the work. They all unanimouſly came, and conſidering that order, and that day, as the commencement of their liberty, not only demoliſhed the citadel, but the palaces and monuments of their former tyrants; and, the place being ſoon cleared, he cauſed a common hall to be built there for a court of juſtice, gratifying the citizens by erecting a popular government on the ruins of tyranny.

Though the city was thus recovered, it was in a manner deſtitute of inhabitants, many of them having periſhed in the civil wars and ſeditions, and others had withdrawn to eſcape the tyrants, ſo that the market place had become a paſture for horſes. Moſt of the other towns were likewiſe deſolate, and became harbours for ſtags and wild boars; ſo that they who had leiſure, frequently went a hunting, finding game enough in the ſuburbs and under the walls; while thoſe who dwelt in caſtles, or eſtabliſhed garriſons in the country, dreading the very name of aſſemblies and tribunals, which they conſidered as the nurſeries of tyranny, refuſed to quit their ſtrong holds, and return back to the city. This induced *Timoleon* and the *Syracuſans* to write to the *Corinthians* for a colony out of *Greece*, to repeople *Syracuſe*, that the land about it might not lie uncultivated.

They

They alſo expected an invaſion from *Africa*; for news was brought that *Mago*, having put an end to his own life, the *Carthaginians*, enraged at his ill conduct, had nailed his body to a croſs, and were making great preparations for another deſcent upon *Sicily* the next ſummer. The *Corinthians*, upon receiving this news, generouſly cauſed proclamation to be made by their heralds at all the ſacred games of *Greece*, and at their ſolemn meetings, That the *Corinthians*, having delivered *Syracuſe* from tyranny, invited home the *Syracuſan* exiles, and all other *Sicilians* that would come and dwell in the city, to the enjoyment of freedom under their own laws, promiſing that the land ſhould be divided among them in juſt and equal proportions. Afterwards they ſent meſſengers into *Aſia*, and the ſeveral iſlands, where they heard that moſt of the ſcattered fugitives reſided, to deſire them to repair to *Corinth*, where the *Corinthians*, at their own expence, would afford them veſſels, and a ſafe convoy.

This propoſal was no ſooner known, than the *Corinthians* univerſally received the tribute of honour they ſo juſtly deſerved, for delivering *Syracuſe* from its barbarous oppreſſors, and reſtoring it to its natural inhabitants: but theſe being aſſembled at *Corinth*, found their number ſo ſmall, that they beſought the *Corinthians* to ſupply the deficiency out of their city and the reſt of *Greece*: on which their number being encreaſed to ten thouſand, they ſailed to *Syracuſe*. In the mean

mean time ſuch multitudes had joined *Timoleon* from *Italy* and *Sicily*, that according to *Athanis* the hiſtorian, they amounted to ſixty thouſand men, among whom he divided the land, but ſold the houſes for a thouſand talents; by which means he left it in the power of the old *Syracuſans* to redeem their own; and, at the ſame time, raiſed a ſupply for the uſe of the community, and for carrying on the war; the neceſſities of the ſtate being ſo very great, that even the public ſtatues were expoſed to ſale by a kind of judicial proceſs, and ſentence of auction paſſed on them. But the *Syracuſans* are ſaid to have exempted the ſtatue of *Gelo*, one of their ancient kings, for the ſake of a victory he had obtained over the *Carthaginian* forces at *Himera*.

Syracuſe being thus happily reſtored to liberty, and filled again by a general concourſe of inhabitants from all parts, *Timoleon* was deſirous of reſcuing the other inhabitants from the ſame bondage, and extirpating arbitrary government out of *Sicily*. He firſt compelled *Icetes* to renounce the *Carthaginian* intereſt, to demoliſh the fortreſſes he ſtill held, and to live as a private perſon among the *Leontines*. Then *Leptines*, the tyrant of *Apollonia*, and ſeveral other ſmall towns, finding, after ſome reſiſtance, that he was in danger of being taken by force, voluntarily ſurrendered, and was ſent after *Dionyſius*, to *Corinth*. *Timoleon* then returned to *Syracuſe*, where, in conjunction with two *Corinthian* lawyers, ſent him for that purpoſe, he made the moſt whole-

ſome

ſome and neceſſary laws; and, in the mean time, that his ſoldiers might not want action, he diſpatched *Demaretus* and *Dinarchus* with a body of forces, to a province of *Sicily* that belonged to the *Carthaginians*, where they recovered ſeveral cities from thoſe Barbarians; and, from the richneſs of the plunder, thoſe troops were not only well ſupplied, but money was raiſed for carrying on the war. Mean while ſeventy thouſand *Carthaginians* landed at *Lilybæum*, coming with two hundred galleys, beſides a thouſand other veſſels, laden with military machines and chariots, a great quantity of corn, and other proviſions, as if they intended to drive the *Grecians* at once out of *Sicily*. Indeed, ſuch a force was ſufficient to ſubdue the *Sicilians*, even had they been perfectly united among themſelves, much more when they were ſo enfeebled by their own animoſities and diviſions.

The *Carthaginians*, who were commanded by *Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, on hearing that a part of their territories was laid waſte, marched with great fury towards the *Corinthians*. On the news of their approach with ſo prodigious an army, the *Syracuſans* were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that hardly three thouſand had the courage to take arms and join *Timoleon*; while the ſtrangers, who ſerved for pay, did not amount to above four thouſand, and of theſe about a thouſand forſook *Timoleon* in his march towards the enemy; for they conſidered him as frantic, and deſtitute of the ſenſe and conſideration that might be

expected

expected from one of his age, in venturing out with only five thousand foot and one thousand horse, against an army of seventy thousand men. *Timoleon*, however, encouraging the rest, led them with great speed towards the river *Crimesus*, where he was told the *Carthaginians* were posted. As he was marching up an ascent, from which he might take a view of the enemy, he by chance met a number of mules loaded with parsley, which his soldiers took for a bad omen, because the sepulchres of the dead were usually adorned with it; when, to free their minds from such discouraging thoughts, he caused his men to halt, and making them a speech suitable to the occasion, concluded by saying, "that "triumphal crowns were here luckily brought "them even before the victory:" for the *Corinthians* crown the conquerors in the *Isthmean* games with chaplets of that herb. *Timoleon* then taking some of the parsley, made a chaplet first, and then his captains, and their companies all crowned themselves with it, in imitation of their leader. The soothsayers then observing two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a serpent in her talons, shewed them to the soldiers, who upon this, unanimously implored the assistance of the gods. It being now near the summer solstice, when the river sending up a thick mist, obscures all the adjacent plain, the enemy's camp could not be discovered, though they could hear a confused mixture of noises, that

that aroſe from the diſtant motions and clamours of ſo vaſt a multitude.

The *Corinthians* ſtopped on the top of the hill, and laid down their bucklers to take breath, and refreſh themſelves, when the ſun ſoon drawing up the vapours from below, the river *Crimeſus* appeared, and they could eaſily perceive the enemy paſſing over it. Firſt came their war chariots, terribly armed for the battle; and after them ten thouſand foot ſoldiers, bearing white targets, who, from the ſlowneſs of their motions, the ſplendor of their weapons, and the order of their march, ſeemed to be *Carthaginians*; and the troops of ſeveral other nations thronged after them in a tumultuous manner for a paſſage. *Timoleon* perceiving, that the river would give him an opportunity of chuſing out as many of the enemy as he had a mind to engage, ordered *Demaratus* to fall upon the *Carthaginians* with his horſe, before they were drawn up in order of battle. Then marching himſelf into the plain, formed his two wings of *Sicilians*, intermingling a few ſtrangers in each; and placing the *Syracuſans* in the centre, with the ſtouteſt mercenaries about his perſon, and then ſtaid to obſerve the ſucceſs of his horſe: when perceiving that they were hindered from engaging the *Carthaginians* by the armed chariots that ran backwards and forwards before the army, and forced continually to wheel about, to prevent their ranks being broken, he called to his ſoldiers to follow him, and ſent orders to the horſe to draw

off

off from the front, where the chariots were placed, and attack the enemy's flank; then rendering his van guard firm, by joining their bucklers fast together, he caused the trumpets to sound.

The *Carthaginians* sustained his first onset; for being armed with brazen helmets, and breast-plates of iron, and covering themselves with their large bucklers, they easily repelled the force of the javelins: but when *Timoleon* ordered his troops to decide the fate of the day by their swords, the management of which depends no less upon art than strength, they began to give way. At the same time a tempest of wind, rain and hail, intermixed with loud claps of thunder, and flashes of lightning, fell on the backs of the *Grecians*, but full in the face of the Barbarians; at which they were not only greatly distressed, but rendered incapable of hearing the commands of their officers. The weight of their armour made them sink in the dirt, and their tunicks being drenched through with water in the foldings on their breasts, became a great impediment to them in fighting; the *Greeks* therefore easily overthrew them, and when they were once down, they were incapable of rising with such a weight of armour. Besides the *Crimesus*, swelled partly by the stoppage of its course, from the multitude crossing the stream, overflowed its banks. The *Greeks* having made great slaughter in the first ranks, the whole body of the army

began to fly. Great numbers being overtaken in the plain, were put to the ſword there; many as they fled falling foul on thoſe who were yet croſſing the river, were borne down by the impetuoſity of the ſtream; and great numbers attempting to eſcape to the hills, were overtaken by the light armed troops, and ſlain. It is ſaid that of ten thouſand bodies which after the battle, lay ſcattered around, at leaſt three thouſand were natives of *Carthage*, diſtinguiſhed by their birth, wealth, and reputation. The *Greeks* eaſily diſcovered the rank of the ſlain by the richneſs of their ſpoils; for when they came to ſtrip the bodies, little value was ſet on iron or braſs, ſuch plenty was there of ſilver and gold. The *Greeks*, on paſſing the river, became maſters of the camp and baggage; and though many of the captives were clandeſtinely ſold by the ſoldiers, about five thouſand were brought in, and delivered up for the benefit of the public. They alſo took two hundred chariots. *Timoleon*'s tent made a magnificent appearance, from its being ſurrounded with a variety of ſpoils and military ornaments, among which were a thouſand breaſt plates of exquiſite workmanſhip, and ten thouſand bucklers: but the number of the *Greeks* was ſo ſmall, that the trophy of their victory was not erected till the third day after the battle.

Timoleon ſent an account of his ſucceſs, with the richeſt of the arms, to *Corinth*, that all men might behold the chief temples of that city adorned, not with *Grecian* ſpoils, nor

offerings obtained by the bloodshed and plunder of their own countrymen and kindred, but with the spoils of Barbarians, which bore this honourable inscription, that "The people of "*Corinth*, and *Timoleon* their general, having "redeemed the *Grecians* that dwelt in *Sicily* "from *Carthaginian* bondage, made this of-"fering as a grateful acknowledgement to "the Gods." He then left his hired soldiers in the enemy's country, to ravage the *Carthaginian* territory, and marched with the rest of the army to *Syracuse*, where he published an edict for banishing the thousand mercenaries, who had basely deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit the city before sun-set; but on their passing over into *Italy*, they were all treacherously murdered by the *Brutians*.

Soon after *Icetes* and *Mamercus* the tyrant of *Catana*, entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and pressing them to send a new army and commander into *Sicily*, they dispatched *Gisco* with a fleet of fifty sail. The inhabitants of *Messina* now entering into a general conspiracy, slew four hundered of the strangers *Timoleon* had sent to their assistance; and at a place called *Hieræ*, in the territories of the *Carthaginians*, a body of mercenaries that served under *Euthymus* the *Leucadian* were all cut off in an ambush laid for them. Afterwards *Timoleon* marching to *Calauria*, *Icetes* made an inroad into the territories of the *Syracusans*, where having obtained a considerable booty,

booty, he, in contempt of *Timoleon*, and the ſlender force he had with him, returned by *Calauria*. That general ſuffered him to paſs by, and then purſued him with his cavalry, and light infantry, which *Icetes* perceiving, croſſed the river *Damyrias*, and then ſtood in a poſture to receive him: the difficulty of the paſſage, and the height of the bank inſpiring him with reſolution. But the troops under *Timoleon* fording the river, the enemy were unable to bear up againſt the violence of their attac, and throwing away their arms, betook themſelves to flight, leaving a thouſand of their men dead on the ſpot. But a little time after *Timoleon* marching to *Leontium*, took *Icetes* priſoner, with *Eupolemus* his ſon, and *Euthymus*, the commander of his horſe, each of whom were ſlain without mercy; and when *Timoleon* returned to *Syracuſe*, the wife and daughters of *Icetes* were brought by the citizens to a public trial, and being condemned to die, ſuffered accordingly. This appears to have been the moſt exceptionable action of *Timoleon*'s life; for by interpoſing his authority, he might have prevented the death of theſe women; but he probably gave them up to the incenſed multitude, that they might revenge the injuries ſuffered by the family of *Dion*, who had expelled *Dionyſius*: for *Icetes*, who took the wife and ſiſter of *Dion*, with his ſon, who was yet a child, had them thrown alive into the ſea*. Afterwards *Timoleon*

* See the life of *Dion*.

marching againſt *Mamercus*, defeated him, and put his army to flight, above two thouſand of his men were ſlain, a conſiderable part of whom were *Punic* troops ſent by *Giſco* to his aſſiſtance.

The *Carthaginians* now ſuing for a peace, he conſented to it on theſe terms: "That "they ſhould confine themſelves to the coun- "try ſituated beyond the river *Lycus*: but al- "low thoſe who deſired to ſettle among the "*Syracuſans*, the liberty of doing it, and of "taking with them their families and for- "tunes; and that the *Carthaginians* ſhould "renounce all friendſhip and alliance with "the *Sicilian* tyrants." *Mamercus* being now forſaken, embarked for *Italy*, in order to bring the *Lucanians* againſt *Timoleon* and the people of *Syracuſe*. But thoſe who were with him, tacking about with their galleys, and landing again in *Sicily*, delivered up *Catana* to *Timoleon*, on which he made his eſcape to *Meſſina*, which was under the tyranny of *Hippo*. But *Timoleon* marching againſt them, and beſieging the city both by ſea and land, *Hippo* endeavoured to eſcape in a ſhip; but being taken by the people of *Meſſina*, they ſent for their children from ſchool to the theatre, to ſee the puniſhment of a tyrant, and having firſt ſcourged him, they put him to death. *Mamercus* now ſurrendered himſelf to *Timoleon*, on condition that he ſhould be tried at *Syracuſe*, and that *Timoleon* ſhould have no hand in his accuſation. When he appeared there

there before the aſſembly of the people, he attempted to pronounce an oration, which he had prepared long before; but finding himſelf interrupted by noiſe and clamour, and that the whole aſſembly appeared inexorable, he threw off his upper garment, and running, daſhed his head with great violence againſt one of the ſteps, in order to kill himſelf; but failing of his purpoſe, he was taken up alive, and hurried to execution.

Thus did *Timoleon* extirpate tyranny, and put a period to the wars of *Sicily*. At his firſt arrival, that iſland was ſavage and deſolate, while the calamities it ſuffered made it hateful to the very natives; but he rendered it ſo deſirable, that even ſtrangers now came to inhabit the towns which their own citizens had forſaken. For *Gela* and *Agrigentum*, two famous cities, ruined by the *Carthaginians*, were then repeopled; the one by *Gorgus*, from the iſle of *Coos*, who having picked up ſome of the old inhabitants, among others, brought them back, with the reſt, to their ancient dwellings; the other, by *Megellus* and *Pheriſtus*, who came from *Elia*. *Timoleon* not only afforded them a ſecure and peaceable abode in their new ſettlement, but kindly and chearfully ſupplied them with all neceſſaries; on which account they loved and reſpected him as their founder. This affection and eſteem was ſo common to all the *Sicilians*, that there was no treaty of peace, no new law, no diviſion of lands, or politi-

cal regulation, which they could approve, unleſs he aſſiſted in it; juſt as the maſter workman puts a finiſhing hand to the productions of other artiſts, and gives them that beauty and perfection which render them worthy of admiration. The *Syracuſans* built him a houſe, as a reward and monument of his noble exploits, and gave him an eſtate in the pleaſanteſt part of their territory, where he chiefly reſided with his wife and children, who came to him from *Corinth*; for, being unwilling to trouble himſelf with the quarrels of *Greece*, or to expoſe himſelf to public envy, the rock on which ſo many great commanders had ſtruck, he never reviſited his native country; chuſing rather to partake of the bleſſings whereof he was the author, the greateſt of which was his beholding ſo many cities flouriſh, and many thouſands of people, by his means, in the full enjoyment of liberty and happineſs. Yet even at *Syracuſe*, two popular orators preferred an indictment againſt him: but, when the citizens would have prevented its being tried, he inſiſted on their having a fair hearing, ſince he himſelf had taken ſuch trouble, and had run ſuch hazards, that every one might freely have recourſe to the laws. And, when *Demænetus*, one of the above orators, laid ſeveral things to his charge in a full aſſembly of the people, he made no other reply, but only that he was much indebted to the gods for the requeſt he had often made that he might

might live to ſee the *Syracuſans* enjoy that liberty of ſpeech which he found they now poſſeſſed.

Towards the concluſion of the above wars, *Timoleon* had a white ſpeck viſible in each eye, and, in time, he became perfectly blind. It is not ſurprizing, that he himſelf ſhould bear this misfortune with the utmoſt patience; but the reſpect and gratitude ſhewn him by the *Syracuſans* during his blindneſs, may juſtly deſerve our admiration. They not only frequently viſited him themſelves, but brought all the ſtrangers that travelled through the country, to his houſe in the city, or to his villa, that they alſo might have the pleaſure of ſeeing their benefactor; making it the ſubject of their joy and exultation, that when, after ſo many brave and ſucceſsful exploits, he might have returned in triumph to *Greece*, deſpiſing the honours that awaited him there, he choſe to end his days with them. They even ſhewed their reſpect to him in the manner of their proceeding in the aſſemblies; for though they themſelves determined affairs of ſmall conſequence, they always conſulted him in difficult and more important caſes; when he was carried thro' the market place in a litter, which being brought into the theatre, he ſtill ſat in it; the people with one voice ſaluting him: having returned their civility, he pauſed till the noiſe of their gratulations and applauſe began to ceaſe: then hearing the buſineſs in debate,

bate, he delivered his opinion, which being confirmed by a general ſuffrage, his ſervants took him back in the litter through the midſt of the aſſembly; and the people, after waiting on him out with loud acclamations, returned to conſider of ſuch public cauſes as they uſed to diſpatch in his abſence.

Thus was *Timoleon* cheriſhed in his old age, and honoured by the *Syracuſans*, as if he had been their common father. At laſt he was ſeized with a diſorder, which, joined to his old age, put a period to his life. He was no ſooner dead, than all the neighbouring inhabitants and ſtrangers were ordered to make their appearance at the time appointed for his burial. The funeral was performed with great ſplendor and magnificence; his bier was adorned with rich ornaments, and carried by a ſelect number of young gentlemen, over the ground where ſtood the palace and citadel of *Dionyſius*, before they were demoliſhed by *Timoleon*. Several thouſand men and women, crowned with flowers, and dreſſed in white, attended on the ſolemnity; whoſe tears and lamentations, mingled with their praiſes of the deceaſed, plainly expreſſed their love and gratitude. At length, the bier being placed on the funeral pile, and that being kindled to conſume his corpſe, *Demetrius*, one of the criers, diſtinguiſhed by the loudneſs of his voice, read an edict to the following purpoſe: "The people "of *Syracuſe* have decreed to inter *Timoleon* "the ſon of *Timodemus*, at the common ex-

"pence

" pence of two hundred *minæ*, and perpe-
" tually to honour his memory by games to
" be celebrated by muſic, horſe-races, and
" all ſorts of gymnaſtic exerciſes; in honour
" of his having deſtroyed tyrants, overthrown
" the Barbarians, repeopled many great ci-
" ties, that were before ruinous and deſo-
" late, and his reſtoring the *Sicilians* the pri-
" lege of living under their own laws."
They alſo erected a tomb for him in the market-place, which they afterwards ſurrounded with a portico, and joining other buildings to it, rendered it a place of exerciſe for their youth, giving it the name of *Timoleonteum*; and maintaining the form of civil polity, and thoſe laws he had eſtabliſhed, they long enjoyed great proſperity.

THE

LIFE

OF

PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

THO' I undertook these lives, in order to be serviceable to others, I persevere in my design for my own advantage, as, by the virtues of these great men, I learn to regulate my own actions: for I thus, in a manner, live and converse with them, while each by turns seems my guest. Besides, by daily conversing with history, and filling my mind with the images of the best and greatest men, I escape the contagion of idleness and vice.

It is agreed by most historians, that the family of the *Æmilii* was one of the most ancient among the *Roman* nobility; and that those of this

this houſe have, been as remarkable for their ſucceſs as for their virtue. Indeed *Lucius Paulus Æmilius*, though he gave extraordinary proofs of his wiſdom and valour, was unfortunate at the battle of *Cannæ*. Unable to diſſuade his colleague from hazarding an engagement, he joined him; and, when deſerted by him who had brought him into danger, bravely kept the field, and died fighting. This *Æmilius* had a ſon called *Paulus*, who is the ſubject of this hiſtory, and a daughter named *Æmilia*, who married *Scipio* the Great.

Æmilius appeared in the world at a time when *Rome* abounded with men famed for their virtues and great accompliſhments, among whom he, even in his youth, made a diſtinguiſhed figure, though he did not tread the ſame path to fame; for he neither exerciſed himſelf in pleading, nor ſtooped to embrace and careſs the vulgar, though theſe were the uſual methods of becoming popular: he choſe the nobler fame of valour, juſtice and integrity, virtues in which he ſoon excelled all his equals.

The firſt important office for which he was a candidate was the Ædileſhip, which he obtained, though he had twelve competitors of ſuch merit, that they all at length became conſuls. Afterwards, being choſen one of the augurs, he became minutely exact in the obſervance of all the ceremonies of religion. He was equally exact in obſerving and requiring the ſtricteſt military diſcipline; for when he had the command, he did not endeavour

to ingratiate himſelf with the ſoldiers by popular flattery; a cuſtom which then prevailed among many, who by making their court to thoſe under them in their firſt poſt, ſtrove to be promoted to a ſecond. But *Æmilius* eſteeming victory the neceſſary conſequence of good diſcipline, was ſevere to thoſe who tranſgreſſed the military laws, and by that means re-eſtabliſhed his country in its former glory.

While the moſt experienced of the *Roman* commanders were employed in a war againſt *Antiochus* the Great, another war broke out in *Spain*, on which *Æmilius* was ſent thither in quality of prætor; but inſtead of having only ſix axes carried before him, he had twelve, as if he had been honoured with the dignity of a conſul. He there twice defeated the Barbarians, and ſlew thirty thouſand of them. Having at length made himſelf maſter of two hundred and fifty cities, whoſe inhabitants voluntarily ſubmitted, and obliged themſelves by oath to be faithful to the *Romans*, he returned to *Rome*, without enriching himſelf a ſingle drachma by the war. Indeed he was always very indifferent with reſpect to riches; but lived ſplendidly on his own eſtate.

He was firſt married to *Papiria*, the daughter of *Maſo*, who had enjoyed the conſulſhip, with whom he lived long in wedlock, but afterwards divorced her, tho' ſhe bore him two ſons. The reaſon of this ſeparation is unknown; but the obſervation of another *Roman* who had divorced his wife ſeems to be juſt.

He

He being highly blamed by his friends, who aſked, *Was ſhe not fair? Was ſhe not chaſte? Was ſhe not fruitful?* He holding out his foot, aſked them, *Whether his ſhoe was not new, and well made?* and they anſwering, *Yes.* He anſwered, *Yet none of you can tell where it wrings me.* *Æmilius* having thus put away *Papiria*, married a ſecond wife, by whom he had alſo two ſons.

Æmilius on being choſen conſul marched againſt the *Ligurians*, a brave and warlike nation, who from their being ſituated near the *Romans*, were ſkilled in the ſame diſcipline and arts of war. They poſſeſſed the utmoſt bounds of *Italy*, which border upon the *Alps*, and that part of thoſe mountains that is waſhed by the *Tuſcan* ſea, oppoſite to *Africa*, and were intermingled with the *Spaniards* and *Gauls* that inhabited the coaſt. They were alſo ſtrong at ſea, and ſailing in light ſhips as far as the *Pillars* of *Hercules*, took all the trading veſſels that appeared in thoſe parts. They had now an army of forty thouſand men; but though *Æmilius* had no more than eight thouſand, he ventured to attac them, and gaining a complete victory, obliged them to ſhelter themſelves in their walled towns. The *Romans* did not think that good policy would permit their deſtroying the *Ligurians*, on account of their being a guard and bulwark againſt the *Gauls*, who had made frequent attempts to over-run *Italy*; he therefore gave them hopes of an accommodation, when truſting to *Æmilius*, they delivered up their towns and ſhips to

him: upon which he razed their fortifications, and then reſtored their towns; but took all their ſhips that had more than three ranks of oars.

Some time after he ſollicited again for the conſulſhip, but meeting with a repulſe, he became wholly intent upon diſcharging the office of augur, and the education of his children; whom he brought up both in the *Roman* diſcipline and that of *Greece*. He not only entertained maſters to teach them g ammar, rhetorick, and logic, but painting, and ſculpture, with ſuch as were ſkilful in breeding horſes and dogs, and could inſtruct them in riding and hunting. At his leiſure hours he himſelf attended their ſtudies, and was preſent at their exerciſes: for he was a moſt tender and indulgent father.

The *Romans* were then engaged in a war with *Perſeus*, king of *Macedonia*; but highly blamed the conduct of their commanders: for thoſe who had lately driven *Antiochus* the great beyond mount *Taurus*, had confined him to *Syria*, and made him glad to purchaſe a peace with fifteen thouſand talents; thoſe who had vanquiſhed king *Philip* in *Theſſaly*, and delivered the *Greeks* from the *Macedonian* yoke, and had overcome *Hannibal* himſelf, a braver, and more powerful enemy than any king, thought it a reproach that *Perſeus* ſhould ſo long be able to carry on the war againſt them, with the remainder of his father's routed forces. But they did not conſider that after *Philip*'s defeat, the *Macedonian* army became much

mor

more powerful. To make this appear, I ſhall give a general view of this part of the *Macedonian* hiſtory.

Antigonus, the moſt powerful of *Alexander*'s captains and ſucceſſors, having obtained the title of king, had a ſon named *Demetrius*, who was the father of *Antigonus Gonatas*: the laſt mentioned prince had alſo a ſon named *Demetrius*, who after a ſhort reign, died, and left a young ſon named *Philip*. The *Macedonian* nobility apprehending that the minority of their prince might occaſion great confuſions, entruſted the government to *Antigonus*, couſin-german to the late king, who alſo married the mother of *Philip*. He was at firſt only ſtiled regent and general; but finding by experience that he governed the kingdom with moderation, they gave him the title of king. He was ſucceeded by *Philip*, who in his youth gave great hopes that he would equal the beſt of kings, and one day not only reſtore *Macedon* to its former dignity, but put a ſtop to the power of the *Romans*, which ſeemed as if it would extend over the whole world. But being defeated in a pitched battle by *Titus Flaminius*, he ſubmitted himſelf, and all he poſſeſſed to the mercy of the *Romans*, and was glad to compound with them by the payment of a moderate tribute. Yet afterwards thinking that while he held his kingdom at the will of his conquerors, he lived rather like a ſlave who deſires nothing more than food and eaſe, than like a man of ſpirit and courage, he privately prepared for war.

Leaving his cities on the ſea-coaſt, and the high-roads, almoſt deſolate, and without garriſons, he furniſhed his mid-land caſtles and towns with men, arms, and money, and thus his military force was, without any ſhew of war, in conſtant readineſs for action. He had in his armory, arms for thirty thouſand men; in his granaries eight millions of buſhels of corn, and in his coffers as much ready money as would keep ten thouſand mercenary ſoldiers for ten years. But the anguiſh of mind he felt for having unjuſtly put to death *Demetrius* one of his ſons, upon liſtening to the calumnies of the other, who was far more guilty, affected him ſo much that he died of grief. *Perſeus*, his ſurviving ſon, inherited both his kingdoms, and his hatred to the *Romans*; but his vices, and particularly his avarice, rendered him very unfit to carry on his deſigns. However, truſting to theſe great preparations, he engaged in a war with the *Romans*, which he ſupported for a long time; he repulſed ſome of their generals of conſular dignity who commanded great fleets and armies, and defeated others. He alſo privately ſollicited the *Gauls* * that live near the *Danube*, and are a very warlike people, particularly formidable for their cavalry, and likewiſe the *Illyrians*, to join him in the war; and it was ſaid, that the Barbarians, allured by the promiſe of rewards, were to make an irrup-

* They are alſo called the *Baſtarnæ*.

tion

tion through the lower parts of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, into *Italy*.

The *Romans*, on being informed of theſe particulars, reſolved no longer to chuſe their commanders by favour, but to elect a man of wiſdom and real abilities. Such was *Paulus Æmilius*, who was now threeſcore years of age; but his ſtrength was not impaired, and he was ſurrounded by his valiant ſons, and a great number of relations and friends, that perſuaded him to comply with the deſires of the people, who called him to the conſulſhip. He at firſt paid no regard to their ſollicitations; but on his ſeeing them flock daily to his gate, urge him to come to the place of election, and loudly cenſure him for his refuſal, he at laſt granted their requeſt. On his appearing among the candidates, ſo great was the joy expreſſed by the people, that it ſeemed as if they were confident of victory and ſucceſs, only from his yielding to take the field. They unanimouſly choſe him conſul *, and without ſuffering the lots as uſual to be caſt, immediately decreed him the command of the *Macedonian* war.

As it was cuſtomary for thoſe who were choſen conſuls to return the people their thanks from the *Roſtrum*, *Æmilius* ſummoned an aſſembly, and told them, "That he ſued for the firſt conſulſhip, becauſe he himſelf ſtood in need of that honour; but for the ſe-

* This happened in the 168th year before Chriſt.

cond, becauſe he knew they wanted ſuch a general; on which account he thought he owed them no thanks: if they imagined any other would manage the war to more advantage, he would willingly reſign his charge; but if they confided in him, they muſt not interfere in his office, or preſcribe what he was to do; for if they endeavoured to govern him who was to command, they would render this expedition more ridiculous than the former. This ſpeech inſpired the citizens with reverence for him, and great expectations of ſucceſs; and all were pleaſed that they had choſen a commander of ſuch noble ſentiments, who had the courage to tell them the truth.

Æmilius had a very proſperous voyage, and arrived with ſpeed and ſafety at the *Roman* camp. Mean while the ſordid diſpoſition of *Perſeus* in a great meaſure ruined thoſe great preparations, by the help of which the *Macedonians* were in no doubt of carrying on the war with ſucceſs. He had prevailed with the *Baſtarnæ* or the *Gauls* near the *Danube*, to ſend him a body of ten thouſand horſe, who had each a foot ſoldier by his ſide; they were all mercenaries, unacquainted with the arts of peace, and whoſe only buſineſs was to fight and conquer. Theſe on their arrival encamped with the king's ſoldiers, and being of extraordinary ſtature, dexterous at their exerciſes, and great boaſters, they added to the courage of the *Macedonians*, who fancied that the *Romans* would be frighted at their very

very looks and geſtures. But *Perſeus* being deſired to pay, according to agreement, a thouſand pieces of gold to each captain, was ſo ſhocked at the thoughts of parting with ſo large a ſum, that he ſent them back, though he had money in his treaſury ſufficient to pay an hundred thouſand men: but his avarice made him weigh and ſeal up his money, as if he had no right to uſe it. From the ſame diſpoſition he defrauded *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, whom he had engaged to join in the war againſt the *Romans*, by the promiſe of three hundred talents*. Some perſons being ſent for the money, it was counted and ſealed up: upon which *Gentius* having no doubt that he ſhould receive it, violated all the laws of honour and juſtice, by impriſoning the *Roman* ambaſſadors who were with him. *Perſeus* was no ſooner informed of this, than concluding that there was now no farther need of money to render *Gentius* an enemy to the *Romans*, ſince by that action he had deeply involved himſelf in the war, he refuſed to pay it, and afterwards beheld, without the leaſt concern, that unfortunate king, with his wife and children, dragged out of his kingdom by *Lucius Anicius*, who was ſent with an army againſt him.

Æmilius on his advancing againſt *Perſeus*, found that he had four thouſand horſe, and near forty thouſand foot, and was encamped with this army by the ſea ſide at the foot of

* Or three hundred thouſand crowns.

Olympus,

Olympus, in a place altogether inacceſſible, and fortified on all ſides with fences and wooden bulwarks, where he remained in great ſecurity, with the hopes of wearying out *Æmilius* by protracting the time. While the *Roman* general was employed in weighing every expedient and method of attac, he perceived that his ſoldiers, from their former want of diſcipline, grew impatient of delay, and on all occaſions were very ready to teach him his duty, on which he ordered them not to intermeddle with what did not concern them; but to ſee that they and their arms were in readineſs, and that they uſed them like *Romans*, when their commanders thought proper to employ them; and that the centinels might be rendered more careful and vigilant, by their having nothing proper to oppoſe an enemy, he ordered them to ſtand without their javelins.

The greateſt inconvenience ſuffered by the *Roman* army, was their want of water, for they had only a little, and that very foul, from ſome ſmall ſprings near the ſea, But *Æmilius* conſidering that he was at the foot of a high and woody mountain, and imagining by the flouriſhing of the trees, that there might be ſprings that had their courſe beneath the ſurface, he cauſed to be dug a number of pits on the ſide of the mountain, which he had the pleaſure to find ſoon filled with clear water, which burſt with great force into theſe openings.

When

When *Æmilius* had tried and conſidered every thing, it appeared that one paſſage to the enemy's camp had been left unguarded, upon which he called a council, wherein *Scipio Naſica*, ſon-in-law to *Scipio Africanus*, ſtood up firſt, and offered to command thoſe ſent to encompaſs the enemy, and *Fabius* *, the eldeſt ſon of *Æmilius*, though yet very young, earneſtly deſired to be employed in that enterprize. *Æmilius* rejoicing to ſee his ſon inſpired with ſuch noble emulation, appointed them a detachment, which *Scipio Naſica* himſelf tells us, conſiſted of three thouſand *Italians* that were not *Romans*, and his left wing was compoſed of five thouſand; to theſe were joined an hundred and twenty horſemen, and two hundred *Thracians* and *Cretans* intermixed. With this detachment they began their march towards the ſea, and encamped near *Heracleum*, as if they deſigned to embark: but after it grew dark, march d all night to *Pythium*, where he ſtayed to reſt his army. Mean while a *Cretan* deſerter eſcaped to the enemy during the march, and informed *Perſeus* that the *Romans* deſigned to encompaſs him. At this news he appeared much ſurprized, for ſeeing *Æmilius* remain quiet with his army, he had no ſuſpicion of any ſuch attempt; and immediate y ſent *Milo* with ten thouſand foreign mercenaries, and two thouſand *Macedonians*,

* *Æmilius*'s eldeſt ſon had been adopted by the ſon of *Fabius Maximus*, whence he received his name.

ordering

ordering him to march as fast as possible, and take possession of the streights. *Polybius* says, that the *Romans* fell upon them while they were asleep; but *Nasica* asserts, that there was a smart engagement on the top of the mountain, in which he himself slew a mercenary *Thracian* with his dart, and that the enemy were put to flight.

Perseus dispirited at this defeat, hastily removed his camp: but it being necessary that he should either stop before *Pydna*, in order to hazard a battle, or disperse his army into the cities, and there expect the enemy; his friends represented, that as his troops were much superior in number, and were to fight in defence of their wives and children, they would exert all their courage, especially while he was a witness of their behaviour, and shared their danger. Encouraged by this representation, *Perseus* encamped in a field proper for drawing up his phalanx, which required a plain even ground: there were also several little hills joined together, that might afford a retreat to the light armed troops, and give them an opportunity of surrounding the enemy: through the middle ran the rivers *Leucus* and *Æson*, which though not very deep, might give some trouble to the *Romans*.

Æmilius having now joined *Nasica*, advanced against *Perseus* in order of battle; but on his seeing the number and disposition of his forces, he was struck with astonishment, and immediately stopt. When the young officers being eager for the fight, earnestly prest him

him to ſuffer them to begin the attac. But *Æmilius* cried with a ſmile, "Were I of your "age, I ſhould be as eager as you; but my "many victories have taught me the miſcar-"riages of the conquered, and forbid my "ſuffering thoſe who are weary with ſo long "a march, to engage an enemy ſo well "drawn up and prepared for battle." Then ordering the front of the army, and thoſe in ſight of the enemy to be drawn up in order of battle, as if they were ready to come to an engagement, he cauſed the rear to throw up the trenches, and to fortify the camp; which being done, the foremoſt of his men wheeling off by degrees, encamped without noiſe.

At night when the men had ſupped, and thought of nothing but taking their reſt, the moon became totally eclipſed *, on which the *Romans* according to cuſtom, made a noiſe with beating on their braſs pans, and by lifting up a great number of firebrands and torches, endeavoured to recover her light: mean while the *Macedonian* army was ſeized with horror and amazement, and a rumour prevailed in the camp, that this eclipſe portended the ruin of their king. Though *Æmilius* was well acquainted with the cauſe of the ſeeming irregularities of eclipſes, and

* According to *Livy*, *Caius Sulpitius Gallus*, a military tribune, foretold this eclipſe the night before; and upon the accompliſhment of his prediction, the *Roman* ſoldiers thought him ſomething more than man.

was

was ſenſible that in a certain revolution of time, the moon in her courſe was hid by the ſhadow of the earth, yet on that planet regaining her former luſtre, he ſacrificed to her eleven heifers, and at break of day, offered up twenty one bulls to *Hercules*; after which he vowed a hecatomb, and ſolemn ſports in honour of that hero, in caſe he gained the victory. He then order'd his officers to prepare for battle, only waiting till the ſun began to decline and turn to the Weſt, that it might not ſhine on the ſoldiers faces; he himſelf in the mean while waiting in his tent, which was open to the plain on which the enemy were encamped. Some ſay, as the evening approached, *Æmilius*, to engage the enemy to begin the attac (on which circumſtance he thought, from his obſervations on the laſt victim, that the victory depended) cauſed a horſe without a bridle to be let looſe, and ſent ſome of the *Romans* to catch him, when a few of the enemy alſo following the beaſt, the battle began. But according to others, the *Thracians* ſetting upon the *Roman* carriages that brought forage to the camp, ſeven hundred *Ligurians* were detached againſt them, when relief ſtill coming from both armies, the main bodies were at laſt engaged. Before the battle, *Æmilius* went through the ranks encouraging his ſoldiers, while *Naſica* advancing to the place where the ſkirmiſh began, obſerved the whole force of the enemy preparing to engage. Firſt marched the *Thracians*, who, as he himſelf ſays, appeared

peared very terrible, they being men of great ſtature, carrying bright and glittering ſhields, with long heavy ſpears that as they moved ſhook on their ſhoulders; they wore black veſts, and their legs were armed with greaves. Then marched the mercenary ſoldiers, armed after the different methods of their reſpective countries. Theſe were followed by a body of *Macedonians*, all picked men in the prime of life, ſhining in their gilt armour, and purple veſts. Then the *Chalcaſpides* advanced from the camp, the whole plain glittering with their brazen ſhields, and the brightneſs of their arms, while their ſhouts reſounded through the mountains.

The battle being begun, *Æmilius* found that the foremoſt of the *Macedonians* had already ſtruck the points of their long ſpears into the ſhields of the *Romans*, who were therefore unable to reach them with their ſwords; but when the reſt of the *Macedonians* took their ſhields from their backs, locked them together, and all at once levelled their pikes againſt the *Roman* bucklers, the dreadful appearance of a front ſo armed filled him with fear and amazement, and he afterwards confeſſed, that he had never beheld any thing more terrible: but diſſembling his apprehenſions, he rode through the army, with a pleaſant and chearful countenance, without either helmet or breaſt-plate.

Perſeus on the contrary, no ſooner ſaw the battle begun, than, as *Polybius* ſays, he withdrew to the city of *Pydne*, under the pretence

of ſacrificing to *Hercules*: a god unuſed to regard the offerings of cowards, or to grant unjuſt requeſts: it being unreaſonable that he ſhould triumph who ſhuns the battle: but the god liſtened to *Æmilius*'s petition; for he prayed for victory with his ſword in his hand, and was fighting while he implored the divine aſſiſtance. But one *Poſidonius*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Perſeus*, and ſays that he himſelf was in the battle, denies that the king left the field, either through fear, or the pretence of ſacrificing: but on account of his being much hurt by an iron dart, which grazed againſt his left ſide.

The *Romans* being unable to make a breach in the phalanx, *Salius*, who commanded the *Pelignians*, ſnatched the enſign of his company, and threw it among the enemy. As all the *Italians* think it the greateſt diſhonour to abandon their ſtandard, the *Pelignians* made the moſt aſtoniſhing efforts to recover it, endeavouring to cut the ſpears aſunder with their ſwords, to put them by with their hands, or beat them aſide with their ſhields. But the *Macedonians* holding them in both hands, pierced through all that came in their way, and nothing was able to reſiſt them. The firſt ranks being thrown into diſorder, thoſe behind were forced to give back, *Poſidonius* ſays, that *Æmilius*, on ſeeing this, rent his cloaths, for ſome of his troops were ready to fly, and the reſt ſhewed their unwillingneſs to attac an impenetrable phalanx guarded by an infinite number of pikes, the

on all ſides threatened the aſſailants. At length, however, the unevenneſs of the ground, and the great extent of the enemy's front, rendered it impoſſible for them to preſerve that rampart of pikes and ſhields every where intire and unbroken: when *Æmilius* perceiving many breaches and interſtices in the phalanx, divided his men into ſmall bodies, and gave orders that they ſhould fall into the intervals and void places left by the enemy. Theſe commands he gave to the captains, and they to their ſoldiers; who had no ſooner entered the ſpaces, but charging the enemy in flank, and rear, where they were naked and expoſed, this terrible phalanx, whoſe whole force conſiſted in its union, was diſſolved and broken, and the *Macedonians* being obliged to fight hand to hand, ſmote in vain with their little ſwords on the large ſolid ſhields of the *Romans*, and their ſlight ſhields were unable to ſuſtain the force of the *Roman* ſwords, which piercing through all their armour to their bodies, they with difficulty maintained their ground. The greateſt efforts were now made on both ſides. *Marcius Cato*, the ſon of *Cato* the cenſor, and the ſon-in-law of *Æmilius*, after giving many proofs of the moſt intrepid courage, had the misfortune to loſe his ſword; when thinking he had better die, than ſuffer it to remain in the hands of the enemy, he flew through all the ranks, and wherever he met a friend or companion, told him his misfortune, and implored his aſſiſtance. In a moment he was ſurrounded with a brave and reſolute

troop, who following him, ruſhed with the utmoſt intrepidity on the *Macedonians*, when after a ſharp conflict and much ſlaughter, they repulſed the enemy, and taking poſſeſſion of the place, which was deſerted and free, ſaught for the ſword, which they at laſt found, covered with a heap of arms and dead bodies. Exulting in their ſucceſs, they with freſh vigour charged thoſe of the enemy that ſtill remained unbroken. At laſt three thouſand choſen men, who fought bravely to the laſt, were all cut to pieces, and ſuch ſlaughter was made of the troops that fled, that the plains and the hills were ſtrewed over with dead bodies, and even the ſtream of the river *Leucus*, which the *Romans* did not paſs till the day after the battle, was then mingled with blood; for the enemy loſt above twenty five thouſand men, though the loſs of the *Romans*, according to *Poſidonius*, amounted only to an hundred, or, as *Scipio Naſica* ſays, to no more than eighty. Notwithſtanding the greatneſs of this battle it was ſoon decided, it being the ninth hour * when they engaged, and the enemy was routed before the tenth: but the purſuit was continued till the night was far advanced; and then they were met by their ſervants with torches, who accompanied them back, with great joy and triumph, to their tents, which were illuminated and adorned with wreaths of laurel and ivy.

* Or three o'clock in the afternoon.

Æmilius

Æmilius was however depreſſed with grief; for of the two ſons who ſerved under him in the war, the youngeſt, whom he chiefly loved, was miſſing. The whole army being ſoon informed of his grief, quitted their ſuppers, and ran with lights, ſome to *Æmilius*'s tent, and others to ſeek him among the ſlain. The whole camp was filled with grief, and the plain reſounded with the cries of thoſe who called out for *Scipio*; for he was univerſally admired and beloved, and from his childhood ſeemed formed for virtue, and to excel all his equals in the arts of war, and of civil government. But at laſt, when they almoſt deſpaired of ever ſeeing him again, he returned, with only two or three companions, covered with the freſh blood of the enemy. This was the *Scipio*, who afterwards deſtroyed *Carthage* and *Numantium* *; he was indiſputably the braveſt of the *Romans*, and had the greateſt authority amongſt them.

Perſeus fled with the cavalry, which were almoſt entire, from *Pydne* to *Pella*. But the foot overtaking them, called them cowards and traytors, dragged them off their horſes, and wounded many of them. On which *Per-*

* This was the youngeſt ſon of *Æmilius* by his firſt wife. He was adopted by the ſon of *Scipio Africanus*, whence he obtained the name of *Publius Æmilius Scipio*; and having at length put an end to the *Punic* war by his taken the above cities, obtained the ſurname of *Africanus the younger*.

Jeus fearing the conſequences of this tumult, left the high road, and leſt he ſhould be known, pulled off his royal mantle, and rode with it behind him, and taking the diadem from his head, held it in his hand. By degrees moſt of his attendants left him, ſtaying behind under various pretences, as the watering their horſes, ſtopping to drink, and the like. This proceeded leſs from their fear of the enemy, than of his cruelty, he endeavouring now to clear himſelf, by laying the blame on others. *Perſeus* arriving at *Pella* in the night, *Eudæus* and *Eudus*, two of his treaſurers, reflecting on his former miſcarriages, ſo exaſperated him, that he ſtabbed them both with his dagger. After this he was deſerted by almoſt all his friends, and none of the common ſoldiers followed him, except thoſe from *Crete*, who adhered to him only for the ſake of his riches, to which they ſtuck as cloſe as bees to their honey: for he carried with him immenſe treaſures, out of which he ſuffered them to take bowls, cups, and other veſſels of gold, and ſilver, to the value of fifty talents: but on his arrival at *Galepſus*, his fears ſomewhat abating, his natural covetouſneſs returned, and he bewailed to his few friends, that he had inadvertently diſtributed the gold plate which had belonged to *Alexander* the Great, among the *Cretans*, beſeeching thoſe that had it, with tears in his eyes, to exchange it with him for money: but thoſe who believed him, and reſtored the plate, were cheated; for inſtead of paying them for it,

it, he had the addreſs to borrow thirty thouſands talents more, which ſoon fell into the hands of the enemy. Then ſailing to *Samothracia*, he fled for refuge to the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.

Though the *Macedonians* were always eſteemed fond of their kings, yet, now ſeeing the pillar of the ſtate broken, they ſubmitted to *Æmilius*, and, in two days time, made him maſter of all *Macedonia*. Soon after *Cneius Octavius*, who was joined in command with *Æmilius*, ſailed with his fleet to *Samothrace*, where, from reverence to the gods, he allowed *Perſeus* to enjoy the protection of the temple, though he took care to prevent his eſcape. *Perſeus* however, bargained with one *Oroandes* of *Crete*, the maſter of a bark, to carry off him and his treaſure *. This fellow, like a true *Cretan*, took in the gold and ſilver, and adviſed him to come in the night, with his wife, children, and neceſſary attendants, to the port called *Demetrium*, where he would take them on board; but, it was no ſooner dark, than he treacherouſly ſailed away without him. At the appointed hour, *Perſeus*, with infinite pains and difficulty, crept through a narrow window, and let himſelf, with his wife and children, down the wall; but, while he was wandering with them on the ſhore, the day beginning to dawn, he was known by a perſon who met

* It amounted to two thouſand talents, that is about 300,000 l.

him,

him, and told him the dreadful news, that he had ſeen *Oroandes* put to ſea. The diſconſolate prince, now filled with terror, gave a deep ſigh, and fled with his wife as faſt as poſſible, towards the place from whence he had eſcaped, to prevent his being overtaken by the *Romans*. The care of his children he had committed to *Ion* of *Theſſalonica*, who had been his favourite; but now, in his adverſity, betrayed him, by delivering them up to *Octavius*; ſo that, ſeeing his children in the power of the enemy, he reſolved to deliver up himſelf. As his greateſt confidence was in *Naſica*, he enquired for him; but, finding that he was not there, he bewailed his misfortune, and ſeeing no poſſible remedy, ſurrendered to *Octavius*. On this occaſion, his extreme fondneſs for life, rendered him very contemptible; for, being by his own deſire brought to *Æmilius*, the conſul aroſe from his ſeat, and, accompanied by his friends, went with tears in his eyes, to receive him, as a great man whom the gods had ſuffered to be humbled. But *Perſeus*, forgetting what was due to his rank, threw himſelf at his feet, embraced his knees, and uttered ſuch unmanly cries, that *Æmilius*, giving him a look of ſcorn and indignation, cried, "By theſe actions, thou ſheweſt, that "thou art worthy of thy calamity, and that "thy former happineſs was greater than thy "deſerts. Thou diſgraceſt my victory, by "proving thyſelf a coward, and that thou "art a foe below a *Roman*." He however raiſed

EMILIUS reproving PERSEUS *for his Pusillanimity.*

raiſed him
livered hi
Æmiliu
law, and
pecially t
him to h
ſilent. "
" is it fo
" and to
" cities,
" kingdo
" marks
" he is t
" ſolid a
" life ca
" in the
" to dre
" day hu
" When
" throw
" ſubdue
" when
" head
" their
" enemi
" ſelves
" ſolid
" pride
" and,
" prepa
" ſent a
" this d
more to

BRITISH MUSEUM 16 NO 98

raiſed him up, gave him his hand, and delivered him into the cuſtody of *Tubero*.

Æmilius then took his ſons, his ſons-in-law, and other of the principal officers, eſpecially thoſe who were young, back with him to his tent, where he continued long ſilent. "How unreaſonable, ſaid he at laſt, "is it for a man to be elated in proſperity, "and to grow arrogant on his having taken "cities, conquered nations, and ſubdued "kingdoms, when *Fortune*, by ſuch viſible "marks of her inſtability, teaches him that "he is to expect nothing from her that is "ſolid and permanent! In what ſeaſon of "life can a man think himſelf ſecure, when, "in the very inſtant of victory, he is forced "to dread her almighty power, which to-"day humbles one, and to-morrow another? "When a moment was ſufficient to over-"throw the houſe of *Alexander*, who had "ſubdued ſo great a part of the world; "when we behold princes, lately at the "head of formidable armies, now receiving "their daily food from the hands of their "enemies, ſhall we preſume to flatter our-"ſelves that our proſperity is ſettled on a "ſolid foundation? Suppreſs therefore the "pride and inſolence inſpired by victory; "and, extending your views to futurity, be "prepared for whatever misfortunes may be "ſent as a counterbalance to the ſucceſs of "this day." *Æmilius*, after ſaying much more to the ſame purpoſe, diſmiſſed the young

young men, whoſe arrogance and vain-glory were curbed by this diſcourſe.

Æmilius, now ſending his army into quarters of refreſhment, went to viſit *Greece*; and, at every city through which he paſſed, he eaſed the grievances of the people, reformed their government, and gave to ſome corn, and to others oil, out of the king's ſtores, in which ſuch vaſt quantities are ſaid to have been laid up, that there were more than ſufficient to ſupply thoſe who wanted it. Finding at *Delphi* a ſquare pillar of white marble, deſigned for the pedeſtal of a golden ſtatue of *Perſeus*, he commanded his own ſtatue to be placed upon it, obſerving, that the conquered ought to give place to the conqueror. On his arriving at *Olympia*, he cried, on ſeeing the famous ſtatue of *Jupiter* in that city, "The *Jupiter* of *Phidias* is the very "*Jupiter* of *Homer*.*" Ten commiſſioners arriving from *Rome*, to ſettle the affairs of the *Macedonians*, he reſtored to them their cities, their country, and the liberty of enjoying their own laws, only obliging them to pay the *Romans* an annual tribute of one hun-

* This ſtatue is ſaid to have been of ivory, which was much more valued by the ancients than it is at preſent, and was of ſo prodigious a ſize, that though it was carved ſitting, and placed in a very lofty temple, yet its head almoſt reached the cieling.

dred

dred talents, which was not half the ſum they had paid to their kings. He then celebrated games and ſhews, offered ſacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments, cauſing the expences of all to be paid out of the king's treaſury. His diſintereſtedneſs was no leſs admired than his other virtues: for he would not even ſee the great quantities of gold and ſilver taken from the king's palaces; but delivered them to the queſtors, to be depoſited in the public treaſury. His ſons, who were great lovers of learning, had no other part of the ſpoils than the king's library; and, on his diſtributing the rewards due to valour, he gave *Ælius Tubero*, his ſon-in-law, only a bowl that weighed five pounds.

On his leaving the *Grecians*, he departed for *Epirus*, he having received orders from the ſenate to give his ſoldiers the pillage of that country. In order to ſurprize them all at once, he ſummoned ten of the principal men of every city, whom he ordered on an appointed day to bring all the gold and ſilver, both in the houſes and the temples: and, with every one of theſe, he ſent a centurion and a guard of ſoldiers, under the pretence of their ſearching for and receiving the money; but, on the day appointed, they all roſe at once, and began to plunder and ſeize the inhabitants, ſo that, within the ſpace of an hour, one hundred and fifty thouſand perſons were made ſlaves, and ſeventy cities ſacked.

ſacked *. Yet what was given to each ſoldier out of the plunder, amounted to no more than eleven drachmas.

Æmilius having executed this order ſo contrary to his natural mildneſs and humanity, embarked with his army, and returned to *Italy*. He proceeded up the *Tiber* in the king's galley, which had ſixteen ranks of oars, and was adorned with purple and ſcarlet cloth, and the arms of the priſoners: thus all the veſſels, moving ſlowly up the ſtream, he proceeded to *Rome* in a kind of triumph. The ſoldiers, however, who had caſt a covetous eye on the treaſures of *Perſeus*, were ſecretly exaſperated at *Æmilius*, which being known to *Servius Galba*, who was the enemy of that general, though he had ſerved under him as military tribune, he inflamed the minds of the ſoldiers againſt him, by his calumnies, and made a long oration to the

* The inhabitants had revolted from the *Romans*, by whom they had been conquered, and had joined with *Perſeus*; for this crime they were thus ſeverely puniſhed. The reader cannot fail obſerving, from this and many other paſſages in this work, that ſome of the moſt humane among the *Greek* and *Roman* generals, were ſometimes guilty of actions, which, in this enlightened age, would blaſt the laurels of the moſt ſucceſsful conqueror, and render him deteſted.

people,

people, filled with reproaches; in which he ſpent the remaining part of the day, endeavouring to prove, that *Æmilius* ought not to be allowed the honour of a triumph. This rendering the ſoldiers more vehement, they all thronged about *Galba*, and early the next morning beſet the capital, where the tribunes had appointed an aſſembly to be held. The firſt tribe having then, by vote, refuſed to grant the triumph, the common people expreſſed their concern, that *Æmilius* ſhould meet with ſuch ignominy, and the chief perſons of the ſenate exclaiming againſt this proceeding as exceeding ſcandalous, preſſed through the crowd, and coming up in a body, deſired the tribunes to defer polling, till they had delivered what they had to ſay to the people. Things being thus ſuſpended, and ſilence obtained, *Marcus Servilius*, a man of conſular dignity, who had killed twenty-three enemies in ſingle combat, ſtood up. "I am now, ſaid he, more than ever con-"vinced that *Paulus Æmilius* is an able ge-"neral, ſince he has performed ſuch great "exploits with ſo ſeditious and licentious "an army: but I can never ſufficiently ad-"mire, that a people, who gloried in the "triumphs over the *Illyrians* and *Ligurians*, "can through envy refuſe to ſee the *Ma-"cedonian* king led captive, and all the "glory of *Philip* and *Alexander* ſubdued by "the *Romans*. How ſtrange is it, that you, "who, upon a ſlight rumour of victory, "offered ſacrifices, and beſought the gods to

" verify the report, ſhould, now the general " is returned victorious, attempt to defraud " the gods of the honour, and yourſelves of " the joy, as if you were afraid of ſeeing " the greatneſs of the conqueſt, or were will- " ing to ſpare the king that diſgrace! It were " much better, indeed, to put a ſtop to the " triumph from your pity to him, than out " of envy to your general: but, ſo great is " the malignity of ſome among you, that he " who has never received a wound, and " whoſe body is ſleek and delicate with eaſe " and indulgence, dares to talk before you " of generals and triumphs;—before you who " have learned from your wounds to judge " of the bravery or cowardice of your com- " manders." Then putting aſide his gar- ment, he ſhewed an incredible number of ſcars on his breaſt; and ordered them to go on and collect the votes, while he followed after to obſerve the baſe and ungrateful, who rather choſe to obey the rabble in war, than to be commanded by their general. This ſpeech, it is ſaid, had ſuch an effect, that all the other tribes decreed a triumph for *Æmi- lius*; which was performed in the following manner:

Scaffolds were erected by the people at the Forum, the Circuſes, and in all other places where they could have a good view of the proceſſion. The ſpectators were cloathed in white; all the temples were open, and full of garlands and perfumes, and the ways were cleared by a great number of officers. The triumph

triumph laſted three days. On the firſt, were exhibited the images, *Coloſſian* ſtatues and pictures taken from the enemy, drawn on two hundred and fifty chariots. On the ſecond, was carried in a great number of waggons, the richeſt and moſt beautiful of the *Macedonian* armour, both of braſs and ſteel, bright and newly poliſhed: theſe, though piled up with the greateſt art, ſeemed careleſly tumbled on heaps; helmets being placed on ſhields, coats of mail on greaves, *Cretan* targets, *Thracian* bucklers and quivers of arrows, through which appeared the points of naked ſwords, intermixed with long ſpears. All theſe arms were faſtened together in ſuch a manner, that as they were drawn along, they ſtruck againſt each other, making a terrible clangor, whence the very ſpoils of the conquered excited terror. Theſe were followed by three thouſand men, who carried the ſilver coin in ſeven hundred and fifty veſſels, each of which contained the weight of three talents *, and was borne by four men. Others brought ſilver bowls, goblets, and cups, diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to make the greateſt ſhew. Early in the morning of the third day came firſt the trumpeters, ſounding ſuch tunes as were uſed by the *Romans* to animate the ſoldiers in a day of battle. Next followed a hundred and twenty ſtalled oxen, with their horns gilt, and their heads adorned with garlands and ribbons, led to the ſacri-

* The talent weighed ſixty pounds.

fice by young men, girt with rich belts of curious workmanſhip, and followed by boys carrying the ſacrificing veſſels of gold and ſilver. Then was brought the gold coin in ſeventy-ſeven veſſels, each alſo containing three talents in weight *. Theſe were followed by thoſe who brought the conſecrated bowl, which *Æmilius* had cauſed to be made; it weighed ten talents, and was ſet with precious ſtones. The cups of *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*, and all the gold plate uſed at *Perſeus*'s table were next expoſed to view: theſe were followed by *Perſeus*'s chariot, in which was placed his armour, and on that his diadem. At ſome diſtance, the king's children were led captive, and with them a train of governors, maſters and nurſes, weeping, and ſtretching out their hands to the ſpectators, and teaching the children to implore their compaſſion. Two of his ſons and one of his daughters were of ſo tender an age, as to be entirely inſenſible of the greatneſs of their miſery; and this inſenſibility, which ſeemed to render them more worthy of pity, ſo affected the ſpectators, that they could not forbear tears, and, in a great meaſure, took off their attention from *Perſeus*, who came next cloathed in black, with a countenance that ſhewed he was ſtunned, and, in a manner, deprived of

* The money in ſpecie carried in this proceſſion, is ſaid to have amounted to more than 1,250,000 l. ſterling.

reaſon

reaſon by the greatneſs of his misfortunes. Then followed many of his friends and favourites, with countenances disfigured with grief, and ſhewing, by their continually fixing their weeping eyes on *Perſeus*, that they lamented his hard fortune, and were regardleſs of their own. After them were carried three hundred golden crowns ſent from various cities to *Æmilius*, as a reward due to his valour. Then appeared *Æmilius* himſelf, in a chariot magnificently adorned, and dreſſed in a purple robe interwoven with gold, holding a laurel branch in his right-hand. His whole army, divided into bands and companies, followed the chariot of their commander, holding boughs of laurel in their hands; ſome, according to cuſtom, ſinging odes mingled with raillery; others, ſongs of triumph, and in praiſe of the exploits of *Æmilius*, who was eſteemed happy by all, and was unenvied by every good man. But, it ſeems the province of ſome jealous being, to mingle the affairs of human life, that no one may be exempt from calamity.

Æmilius had four ſons, of whom *Scipio* and *Fabius* were adopted into other families; the other two, whom he had by a ſecond wife, were but yet young: one of theſe died at fourteen years of age, five days before the triumph, and the other at twelve, three days after it. Every one ſympathized in his grief, and all were ſtruck at the cruelty of *Fortune*, who had brought ſorrow into a houſe filled with joy and happineſs, with feaſts and ſacri-

fices; and intermingled tears and lamentations with ſongs of victory and triumph. *Æmilius* however, wiſely conſidered, that true courage and reſolution required his not only reſiſting ſwords and ſpears, but all the ſhocks of *Fortune*; he therefore balanced the evil with the good, and his private loſs, with the advantages acquired by his country. That nothing might ſeem to damp the joy of his victory, he buried the firſt of his ſons before he triumphed; and, the other dying ſoon after the triumph was over, he aſſembled the people, and made them an oration, in which he informed them, that though he had never feared any thing merely human, he always dreaded the fickleneſs and inconſtancy of *Fortune*; and, that this dread conſtantly attended him during the whole train of his ſucceſs: that now he conſidered himſelf as free from danger, and was perſuaded that, for the time to come, *Fortune* would become conſtant and favourable to the *Romans*, as ſhe had ſufficiently wrecked her envy on him.

Tho' *Æmilius* pitied *Perſeus*'s condition, and ſtudied how to ſerve him, he could procure him no other favour, but his removal from the common priſon, to a more commodious place, where it is generally ſuppoſed, he ſtarved himſelf to death: but others ſay, that his death was moſt ſtrange and cruel; for, being hated by the ſoldiers who were his guards, they finding no other way of tormenting him, diſturbed him whenever he was diſpoſed to reſt, and kept him awake, till

till nature being tired out, he expired. Two of his children died ſoon after him; but a third, named *Alexander*, is ſaid to have proved a fine artiſt in turning and engraving in miniature; and, having learned to ſpeak and write the *Roman* language in great perfection, was employed by the magiſtrates as a clerk, and diſcharged his office with the utmoſt ſkill and conduct.

From *Æmilius*'s conqueſt of *Macedonia*, the people are ſaid to have received an advantage that was extremely acceptable to them; which was his bringing ſo vaſt a quantity of money into the public treaſury, that they were freed from all taxes, till the conſulſhip of *Panſa* and *Hirtius*, in the firſt war between *Anthony* and *Auguſtus* *.

Though *Æmilius* ſtill ſided with the nobles, he was as much beloved by the multitude, as thoſe who by every art ſtrove to ingratiate themſelves into the good opinion of the people. This plainly appeared, by their afterwards chuſing him cenſor, an office eſteemed moſt ſacred, and of great authority, particularly in the power of making a ſtrict examination into the lives of men. The cenſors might expel a ſenator of a profligate character, and enrol one whom they judged more worthy in his room: they might diſgrace the licentious young men of the Equeſtrian order, by taking away their horſes.

* That is, during the ſpace of an hundred and twenty five-years.

They

They likewiſe valued and aſſeſſed each man's eſtate, and regiſter'd the number of the people. But, while *Æmilius* was diſcharging the important duties of this office, he was ſeized with a lingering diſeaſe; on which, by the advice of his phyſicians, he ſailed to *Velia*, where he long led a retired life. The *Romans*, in the mean time, longed for his return; and, by their exclamations in the theatres, publickly expreſſed their earneſt deſire to ſee him. At laſt, *Æmilius*'s attendance being required at a ſolemn ſacrifice, he came back to *Rome*, where he performed the holy rites with the reſt of the prieſts, the people crowding about him, and expreſſing their joy for his return. The next day he offered a ſacrifice to the gods for his recovery; but, returning home, and going to bed, was ſuddenly ſeized with a delirium, and the third day after expired *.

His funeral was conducted with ſingular pomp, not ſuch as conſiſted in gold and ivory, but in the affection, not only of his fellow citizens, but of his very enemies: for his bier was carried by as many of the young and robuſt *Spaniards*, *Ligurians*, and *Macedonians* † as happened then to be at *Rome*, while

* This happened when he was ſixty-eight years of age, one hundred and fifty-eight years before the Chriſtian æra.

† We are informed by *Valerius Maximus*, that theſe *Macedonians* then reſided at *Rome* in the

while the aged following it, called *Æmilius* their benefactor, and the preſerver of their countries. For he had treated them with kindneſs, not only at the time of his victories, but all the reſt of his life endeavoured to ſerve and oblige them.

In comparing *Timoleon* with *Paulus Æmilius*, we find they both made war on two powerful nations: the one againſt the *Carthaginians*, and the other againſt the *Macedonians*, and their ſucceſs was equally glorious. *Timoleon* expelled tyranny out of *Sicily*, and reſtored that iſland to the poſſeſſion of the bleſſings of liberty; and *Æmilius* ſubdued the kingdom of *Macedon*; but the former vanquiſhed the enemies and the tyrants of *Sicily* with an inconſiderable number of men aſſembled from

the character of ambaſſadors, and were perſons of very high rank in that country. "Their "behaviour, he adds, will appear ſtill more "extraordinary, if it be conſidered, that the "fore part of the bier was adorned with pic-"tures repreſenting the triumph of *Æmilius* for "the conqueſt of their country. How great "muſt have been their veneration for him, "when they had ſo high a reſpect for his me-"mory, as voluntarily to bear in proceſſion, "and in the view of all the people, the me-"morials of the conqueſt of *Macedon!* a ſight "that turned his funeral into the glory of a ſe-"cond triumph."

all

all parts; while the latter had an army of well diſciplined troops, experienced in war, and accuſtomed to obedience. When actions are equally glorious, and the means of compaſſing them are unequal, that general certainly deſerves the greateſt honour, who conquers with the ſmalleſt force.

Theſe generals had the reputation of behaving with the moſt perfect integrity: but *Æmilius*, living in an age when the *Romans* were educated with the greateſt modeſty and temperance, was by the laws and cuſtoms of his country trained up, and habituated to juſtice and diſintereſtedneſs; advantages which *Timoleon* wanted; for, the *Grecians* being corrupted, he learned virtue by himſelf, and employed all his power for the promotion of virtue, the reſtoration of liberty, and the deſtruction of uſurpers.

The END *of the* SECOND VOLUME.

BRITISH 18 NO 98 MUSEUM